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CIA "Support" for Bush Explained

AU1412091788 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 9 Dec 88 p 4

[N. Dhimitri article: "The CIA Votes for Bush"]

[Text] Now that the U.S. elections are over, and George Bush, on the basis of the votes he gained, is to become president of the United States on 20 January, balance sheets have begun to be compiled to show which corporations and government departments worked most enthusiastically for his election. It has emerged from this that the winner of this undeclared race seems to be the infamous CIA. The American press writes that there were "Bush for president" slogans in capital letters in all of the corridors of the CIA.

Why all this support?

The explanation is simple. Of course the CIA would have supported some other candidate, especially since it is well-known that candidates are approved and subsidized by the mammoth corporations. However, there was special enthusiasm for Bush because the American bourgeoisie appointed Bush as head of the CIA at one of the agency's most sensitive moments. It was at the time following the Watergate scandal, when then President Richard Nixon was forced to resign. The CIA was one of the main protagonists in this scandal, and Bush was the very man appointed to rehabilitate the CIA and raise its prestige in the eyes of the public. When the former CIA chief became a presidential candidate, it was understandable that CIA officials would be the first to support him.

However, there is another reason for this support for Bush. As vice president, Bush was one of those who submitted a secret directive about the CIA for Reagan's approval in January 1986. This directive gave the CIA the right to murder and kidnap people or to organize subversive activity in other countries whenever the agency "expressed the suspicion" that terrorist activity was taking place.

This unparalleled directive legalizes the aggression of American imperialism and its role as policeman. The American presidential seal gives the CIA a free hand in murdering or terrorizing any personality or leader of another country whom America does not like.

As president, Bush promises to be a zealous implementor of this terrorist directive that even more forcefully tears away the mask from so-called American democracy.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With FRG

AU1412164488 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 14 Dec 88 p 9

["eik" report: "Tirana Is Looking for a Way Back to the World Market"]

[Text] Tirana, 13 December 1988—Albania accords great importance to trade with the FRG. About 14 months after the establishment of diplomatic relations with Bonn, the Joint Economic Commission convened in Tirana from 5 to 8 December for the first time.

The talks that were headed on the German side by the parliamentary state secretary in the Economics Ministry, Riedl, focused on possible ways of intensifying bilateral cooperation in the spheres of industry and technology.

To boost mutual trade, an increasing number of Albanian experts will be sent to the FRG to acquire the required know-how and marketing skills. This is all the more important if one considers the current low level of trade volume between the People's Republic of Albania and the FRG. A "climax" was reached in 1982 when the trade volume amounted to DM128 billion. Subsequently, a steady decline was observed, and in 1986 the volume amounted to only DM85 billion. Meanwhile the trend has been reversed. State Secretary Riedl spoke of an increase of 80 percent in Albanian exports and an increase of 11 percent in German exports from 1987 to August 1988.

Albania, the second-largest chrome ore exporting country in the world, wants to primarily increase the degree of mechanization of its pits and improve excavation technology. The construction of new plants for melting and the enrichment and further processing of ores is also envisaged. There are plans to increase the production of copper wire and cables. The enterprises for the enrichment of iron-nickel ore are to be modernized. In the energy sector, the main emphasis will be on equipment for the Banje hydroelectric plant. Cooperation with German enterprises in the prospecting and production of oil and natural gas as well as in the sphere of hard coal mining will be intensified. Albania's chemical industry is planning to build a new factory for the production of soda ash, polyvinyl chloride, and calcined soda. The construction of a factory for the production of sodium bicarbonate is also planned.

In the building material industry, the modernization of the cement works in Elbasan and Fusge Kruje (central Albania) will be given priority. The construction of factories for tiles, marble slabs, gypsum powder, and white cement is also planned. Investments are envisaged in light industry, such as in the production of synthetic materials, rubber and leather, as well as in the glass industry. The modernization program also includes the pharmaceutical sector and the construction of facilities for processing plants, medicinal herbs, essential oils, etc. In agriculture, the construction of new greenhouses is planned.

As can be assumed on the basis of the contacts that have existed so far, Albania would like the "FRG to be its main trade partner." In the second half of 1989, the joint commission is to convene again in Bonn.

One of the greatest problems that has impeded cooperation so far was the rejection of loans by the Albanian side in strict adherence to its Constitution. A certain degree of accommodation has now been signaled by Tirana: The Albanian State Bank wants to assume bank guarantees for the financing of business deals in the future in cases where the delivery of technology can be compensated for by Albanian finished products. Constitutional principles, however, must remain unaffected.

Trade Delegation Returns From Romania

AU1412200988 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] The government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Minister of Finance Andrea Nako, has returned from the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The delegation was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Minister of Domestic Trade Osman Murati. Gheorghe Pop, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Tirana, was also present.

Carcani Congratulates Pakistan's Bhutto

AU0812201688 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram of congratulations to Benazir Bhutto, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan:

Your Excellency's appointment as Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan gives me the particular pleasure of conveying my sincere greetings. Wishing you success in your lofty mission for the benefit and progress of the friendly Pakistani people, I also express the belief that the friendly relations between our two countries will continually develop.

Revision of Exchange Rate Proposed

AU1312111588 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 11 Nov 88 pp 22-28

[Sabah Hilmia, Robert Koli article: "Improving the Use of Some Economic Levers Encourages Increased Production and Efficiency"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Refining the Mechanism of Exchange Rates Helps Increase the Effectiveness of Exports and Imports and Improves the Balance of Payments

The Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum in September this year pointed out that our country has recorded significant achievements in foreign trade, as in other areas. It is indisputable that alongside the needs and opportunities of the economy and the people, our export and import trade has risen in volume from year to year and from one 5-year period to another, and has improved in its structure, in total conformity with party policy and with the principle of relying on our own resources. However, the plenum emphasized at the same time that there are many unexploited reserves and opportunities for further developing exports and imports, and therefore laid down a series of tasks to further strengthen foreign trade.

In carrying out these tasks, our economic and financial levers and mechanisms have an important part to play. In particular, improving our work on the study and determination of exchange rates between foreign currencies and the lek is of special importance.

We have trading relations with a number of capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist countries; in these relations, the laws of the market, world capitalist prices, and the so-called "socialist international prices" of revisionist countries integrated into CEMA operate anarchically and in an unrestrictedly laissez-faire fashion. As a result, our country is objectively obliged to commit itself to foreign currency payments with these countries because of the exchange of goods and operations of a nonmercantile nature. Under these conditions, in order to carry out the measures provided for in the plan for increasing exports and relatively limiting imports, and to perform the tasks set by the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum for improving the trade balance and the balance of payments, it is necessary to further refine the exchange rate mechanism, especially in regard to the exchange of the dollar and the ruble with the lek, as well as the dollar-ruble relationship, in order to make better use of this exchange rate in the service of our economy.

In order to do this, it is first of all necessary to fully realize that the exchange rate of the dollar, ruble, or mark with the lek is not simply a matter of calculation, and is not simply "the price of a foreign currency unit in our national currency" as is sometimes thought, but is a process with definite political, social, economic, and financial meaning. It exerts an active influence on the economy, not merely because it encourages higher exports and lower imports, but because it enables us to assess and measure as realistically as possible the effectiveness of our foreign trade as a whole and the profitability of the products we export. On this basis, the objectives of the work of the party and its instruments in developing export-import trade and increasing the effectiveness of foreign trade become clearer.

At present, exchange rates occupy an important place in the monetary policy of every state, and are used as a tool to temporarily improve the competitiveness of one country or another. There are even certain cases in which exchange rates are also used as an instrument of economic aggression, as by American imperialism today. The policy of reducing the rate of the dollar, pursued by the Reagan administration since the second half of 1985, is inspired by the aim of artificially increasing the competitiveness of the products of American industry with the help of the currency exchange rate mechanism.

The exchange rate, although it does not play a decisive role in our planned economy, exerts its own influence on our trade balance and balance of payments. It is an instrument of economic, financial, and monetary policy in the hands of our state which, if used correctly, helps us to carry out as well as possible the tasks that have been laid down for increasing exports and limiting imports, and, in consequence, to improve our balance of payments. Therefore, the study and determination of the exchange rates of foreign currencies with our own on a scientific basis has become a necessary requirement. Such a measure would not only influence our exports and imports, but would also allow us to make genuine cost estimates for investments in purchasing machinery, building new plants, reconstructing existing plants; to precisely calculate depreciation and production costs; and to realistically calculate the yield from our basic foreign trade investments.

The commercial (economic) rate of the dollar and the ruble is now 8 leks. This rate was set in January 1986. However, economic and commercial conditions, both nationally and internationally, are not the same in 1988 as they were in 1986. Moreover, changing economic and commercial conditions require that the currency exchange rate not remain fixed and unchanged over a long period, but should be subjected to repeated consideration, and when the need arises and the interests of the economy require it, should be reviewed and adjusted. We stress this because the analyses and studies that have been performed show that the exchange rate does not always keep track of the dynamics of the changes in economic and commercial conditions that are constantly taking place.

For instance, let us take the rate of 1 dollar equals 1 ruble equals 1 lek. At present, this does not correspond to economic reality or to the volume and structure of our exports. It corresponds still less to the reality of the world capitalist economy. Even though the dollar has been devalued several times in recent years, it is still not worth less than the ruble, and is not even equal to it, despite the official statements of the Soviet State Bank, which with "Russian pride," pretends that the ruble has a higher value than the dollar and is equal to about $1.40. In fact, the ruble-dollar exchange rate is not a genuine one. It is notional, not only because the ruble is a nonconvertible currency, but because in special stores in Moscow and elsewhere in which goods are sold for dollars, the ruble-dollar relationship shows that the dollar has greater purchasing power than the ruble. Under these conditions, whatever claims are made about the value of the ruble for economic and political purposes, the dollar is of greater value in comparison.

Moreover, not only do the volume and structure of our exports change from year to year, but so do production conditions and the range of items we export. This means that our currency exchange rates should also not remain static and unchanged for years on end. From observations and studies conducted on a group of goods we export to the dollar and ruble areas, we see that the dollar should be at a rate between 30 and 40 percent higher than that of the ruble.

We think that the improvement of the dollar and ruble exchange rates with the lek along these lines would have a positive effect on our balance of payments and on the economy as a whole. First of all, it would influence the implementation of the tasks that have been set in the plan for raising income from exports, thus further stimulating economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives to produce for export. Second, it would help to limit imports, because a dollar would not be equal to 8 leks, but to between 30 and 40 percent more, which would lead to the closer examination and better economic calculation of requests for imports. This would also lead to a more sparing use of machinery, raw materials, and other resources. Third, it would help us in calculating state expenditure for the financing of basic investments, especially for machinery which we buy from abroad and for new plants. At the same time, it would help in calculating the yield from investments more realistically. Fourth, as realistic an exchange rate as possible would help us to gain more precise information about production yields and our foreign trade. It would help us to calculate better than ever before the profitability of the products that are outlined in the plan for export, to assess our priorities better and determine the range of products destined in the plan for export.

We think that a broader, deeper, and more correct understanding of the role and importance of the exchange rates of foreign currencies with our national currency, the lek, and their determination on a scientific basis, would help us implement the tasks set by the party at the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum, which states that the problems of the economy demand economic solutions, involving the use of economic levers and mechanisms.

Changes in Government Membership Made

AU1512142088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] At the National Assembly session Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, read the proposal of Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to change the membership of the Council of Ministers. It was proposed to release from their posts the ministers of internal affairs, transportation, public health and social welfare, and agriculture and forestry. The following persons were unanimously elected ministers: Georgi Sotirov Tanev, as minister of internal affairs; Trifon Nenov Pashov, as minister of transportation; Mincho Tstanev Peychev, as minister of public health and social welfare; and Georgi Nikolov Nenov, as minister of agriculture and forestry. The session is continuing.

Further Reportage

AU1512160488 Sofia BTA in English 1514 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—The session of the National Assembly, which started here today, took a vote for changes in the Council of Ministers.

The following ministers were removed from office: The Minister of Internal Affairs Dimitur Stoyanov, who was elected yesterday at the plenum of the CC of the BCP for a member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP; Mr. Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health; Mr. Georgi Tanev, minister of transport, who was assigned to the Ministry of Internal Affairs; Mr. Aleksi Ivanov, minister of agriculture and forestry.

For minister of public health was approved Mr. Mincho Peychev, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front. For minister of transport was approved Mr. Trifon Pashov, first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad BCP Regional Committee. For minister of agriculture and forestry was approved Mr. Georgi Menov, member of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

Ovcharov Gives Report at National Assembly

AU1512204388 Sofia BTA in English 1936 GMT 15 Dec 88

["On Bulgaria's State Plan for the Next Year"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—At the session of the National Assembly which started here today, Mr. Stoyan Ovcharov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of economy and planning, said that the basic rates and proportions proposed with the draft plan for techno-scientific and socioeconomic development of this country in 1989 are in the frameworks of the real potential of the national economy, that they secure opportunities not only for fulfillment of the indices envisaged for the Ninth Five Year Plan Period (1986-1990) but for their overfulfilment as well.

The minister commented on the main results of the development of the economy during the present year. The basic quantitative and qualitative indices will be fulfilled, with some exceptions. The national income will grow by 6.2 per cent, its energy consumption and metal consumption is decreased, for the fist time since several years a positive tendency is forming for a change in the rates and in the volume of the production of the production means and of consummer goods in favour of the latter. The progressive structural changes in the national economy have also deepened as a result of the techno-scientific progress. Electronics and mechanical engineering have the greatest contribution to the qualitative changes.

In his report the minister notes that during this year the foreign trade of this country has grown by 3.5 per cent, that the structure of the export is improved through the increase of the relative share of machine and equipment in it. The share of raw materials, fuels and feed stock decreases respectively.

In connection with the satisfaction of the needs of the population it was noted that the real income will grow by 4 per cent, that the average monthly salary will amount to 244 leva and that the social consumption funds will grow by 4.2 per cent.

The continuous unfavourable climatic conditions and some organizational weaknesses have hampered the achievement of the goals set in the sphere of agriculture. This year's production of grain, vegetables and sugar beet, grape, has considerably decreased, pointed out Mr. Stoyan Ovcharov.

Regardless of certain weaknesses the average annual growth of the national income for the first three years of the five year plan period amounts to about 5.6 per cent, while the law for the five year plan period envisages 5.4 per cent.

What are the basic indices embedded in the draft for the next year's state plan?

The minister of economy and planning said that the gross national product is envisaged to grow at least by 6.5 per cent. Compared to the previous year the national income will grow by 6.2 per cent, which will be accompanied by improvement of its structure, the outpacing development of the production of consumer goods included. The positive changes will be achieved mostly on the base of the increase in the social productivity of labour, of the more rational utilization of fuels, raw materials and feedstock.

New investment policy is being formed, which is closely related to the structural and technological innovation. 79.1 per cent of the total sum of the investments are envisaged for technological innovation in the sphere of material production.

The goals set with the plan will be achieved through concentration of the efforts in the decisive trends of the economy: electronics, biotechnologies and chemical industry, the most progressive branches of mechanical engineering, the agro-industrial sector. Consistently will be implemented a policy of limitation and halting of inefficient, non-profitable and technologically old productions and activities, of low quality products. Greatest importance is attached to the realization of large-scale national programmes and projects of social and technological significance. The adopted approach is characterized by the provision of a real balance relation between the draft-plan and the establishing of certain reserves for flexible actions.

The structural and technological innovation of the economy as a chief factor for qualitatively new growth will be expressed in the maximum use of the capacities for synthesis between science, informatics and computers, in the decisive increase of the science-consumption and "intelligence" of products and systems, in broadened technological and investment cooperation with leading companies and organizations from the socialist and non-socialist countries. The draft-plan pays special attention to the establishing of small- and medium- size enterprises. More than 110 such organizations will be created.

The structural and technological changes will include all branches and activities of economy but they will be deepest in the priority trends. In the sphere of electronics will start the mastering of a new generation of microelectronic element base and will be intensified the research work on the promising element base, the production of electronics focuses on the needs of the population. In the sphere of the biotechnological industry: the new technological trends based on in-depth and comprehensive use of resources and materials will be developed as fast as possible.

Attention is paid to the development of mechanical engineering, optoelectronics and laser technology. As far as the agrarian complex is concerned the production of grain is envisaged to reach 9.5 million tons, the production of other cultures will be also increased. In the sphere of stock breeding the efforts will be concentrated on the restoration of the number of livestock. There will be general structural and technological innovation of food industry through the establishing of consortiums with leading foreign companies.

In the sphere of power supply will be increased the relative share of the electric power from nuclear power plants with the putting into operation of the 6th energy block of the "Kozloduy" nuclear power plant.

In the sphere of social policy the task is not simply to raise the living standard of the population but to create new quality of life. The income of the population will grow by 6.1 per cent, and the social consumption funds—by 7.7 per cent. There will be a raise in the minimal pensions and minimal salaries from January 1, next year.

It is envisaged to enrich considerably the home market and improve and diversify the services for the population. That means a breakthrough in this sphere. The commodities in the market will increase by 12 per cent with the aim of liquidating the deficiency in certain fields.

The funds for intellectual activity are proposed to grow by 12.3 per cent. It is envisaged to built about 75 thousand flats, with a reserve for 15 thousand more.

In the sphere of foreign economic relations it is envisaged to deepen the cooperation with the socialist countries. It will be enriched with new forms, there will be active utilization of the advantages of the agreements reached with the USSR and Czechoslovakia for payments in national currencies in the direct relations between the enterprises. The necessary steps will be undertaken for the reaching of agreements in this direction with the other socialist countries as well.

The foreign economic relations with the non-socialist countries will be developed taking into account the new realities in the world and the opportunities created on this base for new forms of cooperation. There will be greater utilization of such forms as joint initiatives for reconstruction and updating of Bulgarian enterprises, building of joint capacities, etc.

Ovcharov on Draft Budget

AU1612075388 Sofia BTA in English
2143 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—The budget of Bulgaria for 1989 is developed in compliance with the establishment of a principally new economic environment and regulators as well as with the changes which will take place in the relations between the state and the new company structures in the economy, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, alternate-member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, said at the session of the National Assembly which opened in this country today.

Presenting the draft of next year's state budget, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov said that a new moment in the relations between the budget and the goods producers is the planned application of an alleviated system of taxations for certain productions and activities, in view the establishment of improved conditions for the development of basic structure-determining productions and technologies, as well as for the encouragement of the production of goods and services for the population. [sentence as received]

An alleviated system of taxation is also planned for production and activities carried out in populated areas with an insufficiently developed economic system.

Both the incomes as well as the expenses of the budget are offered to the amount of 24 billion and 288 million leva.

The main sources in the formation of the budget incomes remain the incomes from the profits of the economic organizations, the incomes from the taxes on the turnover, and the incomes from the state social insurance. The incomes from taxation of the population is 8 percent of all incomes in the state budget. It is noted in the draft that with the development of the industrial and collective work the share of incomes of the population is expected to increase.

Mr Stoyan Ovcharov pointed out that the structure of expenses is to undergo a number of qualitative changes.

The financial basis of the goods producers is improving as a result of the increased production efficiency. This creates conditions for restricting the expenses of the budget for financing of investments in the material production. A significant part of the budget resources is directed for active and busy social policy. Particular attention is rendered also to financial insurance of the intellectual sphere, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov said.

About 30 percent of the budget resources are planned to go in the material production and about 1 billion and 500 million leva are to go for ensuring better conditions for the development and technological restructuring of the production forces in agriculture.

For financing of the intellectual sphere, health care and social ensurances are planned to go 35 percent of the budget resources, for scientific-research and implementation activities are to be spent 352 million leva, which is 8 percent more than the expenses for the same activities for the year 1988.

The draft ensures also the country's needed external payments.

In conformity with the growing role of the country's territorial communities in the country's socio-economic development the share of local budgets for 1989 is to increase by 13 percent.

Mr Stoyan Ovcharov said that the country's state budget for 1987 was fulfilled in income to the amount of 22 billion and 679 million leva and in expenses to the amount of 22 billion and 669 million leva. The 1988 budget is also expected to end successfully.

The minister of the economy and planning dwelled on the new economic conditions in which the plan and the budget would be fulfilled: the setting up of the companies whose activity would be enforced by the law as from January 1, 1989, and which would refer to all kinds of organizations of the goods producers. The process of restriction of the amount and number of natures covered by the state orders would continue in 1989. The state orders are to cover no more than 20 percent of the industrial production volume and as far as the individual company goes, its production volume assigned by a state order would cover no more than two thirds of its potential. In agriculture the state orders are to be assigned in future to and through the regional councils only for a few basic agricultural products intended for: the national balances, food processing and export for intergovernmental contracts.

A busy preparatory activity is taking place, such as the wholesale price reform which started in 1988 to cover in the beginning of 1989 almost 70 percent of the production. This means that the new prices would refer in practice to all branches and activities except the agro-industrial complex, the industry for man and the construction industry. In these sectors the wholesale prices would change in the following stage.

Mr Stoyan Ovcharov explicitly stressed that the changes in the wholesale prices would not influence the retail prices.

A deep change is envisaged also in the system of taxations, as well as a new way of formation and distribution of the wage fund in the companies and bonds and shares issuing.

Biographical Data on New BCP Functionaries

AU1512102988 Sofia BTA in English
0808 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—At the plenum of the CC of of the BCP yesterday, Mr Dimitur Ivanov Stoyanov was elected full Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP. He was born in the town of Strazhitsa, region of Lovech, on November 7, 1928.

Member of the Workers' Youth Union (R.M.S.) since 1942, he was active in the antifascist resistance. He graduated from the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia. Secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, 1959-1961. Secretary, and then first secretary of the BCP County Committee in the town of Veliko Turnovo, 1961-1973. Minister of Internal Affairs (since 1973).

He joined the BCP in 1953. At the 8th Congress of the BCP in 1962, he was elected alternate (non-voting) member of the CC of the BCP. The 11th Congress in 1976 promoted him to full Central Committee membership. He was elected alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP in January 1984.

He has served as a national representative (member of parliament) in the sixth, the seventh, the eighth and the ninth National Assembly.

Mr Ivan Dimitrov Panev, who was elected yesterday member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, was born in the City of Plovdiv on December 15, 1933. He holds a degree in economics.

Member of the Workers' Youth Union (R.M.S.) since 1947, he was elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League at the league's 11th Congress. Chairman of the Committee for Youth and Sports with the Council of Ministers, 1968-1971. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sofia City Council, 1971-1977. First secretary of the BCP County Committee in Plovdiv, 1977-1987. First secretary of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP (since 1987).

He joined the BCP in 1957. At the 9th Congress of the BCP in 1967 he was elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP, and the 10th Congress in 1971 promoted him to full Central Committee membership.

He has served as national representative in the Fifth, the Sixth, the Seventh, the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly. Member of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Mr Petko Danchev Petkov, who was elected yesterday alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, was born on September 27, 1949, in the town of Pravets, region of Sofia. He graduated from the V.I. Lenin Higher Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering in Sofia. He worked as a workshop manager in Botevgrad. General manager of the Chemical Combined Works in Botevgrad, 1979-1986. President of the Plovdiv-based Biotekhnika Economic Corporation, January 1986-1987. President of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association (since 1987).

He joined the BCP in March 1974. The 13th Congress of the BCP 1986 elected him alternate member of the CC of the BCP.

He has served as a national representative in the Ninth National Assembly.

Mr Stoyan Kostov Ovcharov, who was elected yesterday alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, was born on November 15, 1942, in the city of Plovdiv. He graduated from the Moscow Transport Engineering Institute. He has worked at a computer centre, and as head of the Ministry of Transport Research Centre for Transport Cybernetics and Complex Transport Problems. First deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, 1983-1986. Secretary of the Party and Government Commission on Techno-Scientific Policy, 1986-1987. Minister of the economy and planning (since August 1987).

He joined the BCP in 1972. Member of the CC of the BCP since January 1988. National representative in the Ninth National Assembly.

Comparison of BCP Plenum Report

Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 15 December on page 1 carries a 750-word report entitled "The Plenum of the BCP Central Committee Has Ended," and a 350-word text entitled "Resolutions of the BCP Central Committee Plenum Held on 13 and 14 December 1988." The ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME report has been compared with the Sofia Domestic Service Bulgarian version, entitled "Personnel Changes Made," published in the 15 December East Europe Daily Report, pp 12-13, revealing the following variations:

The two items are identical, apart from a different order of presentation, in that the text of the two resolutions, corresponding to page 12, column two, paragraphs 4 through 11, is published separately at the end, and the following variations:

Page 12, column two, paragraph one, last sentence reads... relations; and Nencho Goranov, candidate member of... (changing "Geranov" to "Goranov")

Same page, same column, paragraph three is omitted.

Same page, same column, paragraph five, only sentence reads... which has been discussed by the Politburo. (changing "approved" to "discussed")

Same page, same column, paragraph seven, only sentence reads... the normative framework, for our country's participation in the international division of labor and its foreign policy activity as well as for the comprehensive renewal... (changing "our" to "for"; changing "in accordance with" to "for"; changing punctuation)

Page 13, column one, paragraph two, only sentence reads... Living Abroad; Petko Danchev, chairman of "Biotechnological... (changing "Tanchev" to "Danchev")

Same page, same column, paragraph three, only sentence reads... and Evgeni Apostolov, senior adviser at the Council... (adding "senior")

Same page, column two, paragraph one, only sentence reads... director of "Khristo G. Danov" Publishing House... (changing "Gerdanov" to "G. Danov")

Zhivkov Introductory Speech at Plenum Published

AU1512123788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Dec 88 p 1

[Report on introductory speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee General Secretary, at opening of BCP Central Committee Plenum on 13 December 1988 at the Boyana Residence in Sofia]

[Excerpt] A plenum of the BCP Central Committee opened on 13 December at the Boyana Residence. [passage omitted]

Comrade Todor Zhivkov delivered an introductory address on the report, which had been distributed to the delegates in advance. He stated as follows in the closing passage of his address:

Comrades, allow me, at the end of this introductory address, to dwell on two events which fill the world with emotion. One of these events is remarkable, and the other, unfortunately, very tragic.

I am sure that I express the unanimous opinion of the Central Committee and our people's true feelings and thoughts in saying that Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States and his speech at the UN General Assembly were events of exceptional political importance.

Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting on U.S. territory is a new confirmation of the fruitful dialogue in Soviet-American relations at the present stage of development. It is a remarkable fact that these relations are developing along the path of cooperation and understanding. As a result of all this, these meetings play an important role for the entire complex of East-West relations, for the guarantee of a peaceful future on our planet.

The speech delivered by the first Soviet party and state leader at the United Nations attracted the attention of the entire world public and became a brilliant, supreme achievement in the defense, development, and practical implementation of the principles of new political thinking.

The proposals that the Soviet leader is now submitting contain strong incentives and open up a new stage in the disarmament process, guaranteeing international security. This speech focuses on the problems concerning all mankind, whose solution is and should be the cornerstone of international relations.

As a party and state we fully support the proposals submitted by the Soviet leader and will do everything within our power for the victory of new political thinking.

To our greatest regret the news about an unprecedented earthquake reached us in the days of Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Soviet Armenia. Entire towns are in ruins, thousands of people have perished or are injured. The whole Soviet country is in mourning. All Soviet people are unanimously coming to the rescue of the victims.

People in our country share this deep sorrow. There is no Bulgarian heart that does not feel the pain and suffering. There is no Bulgarian citizen who is not ready to help the victims and rescue the injured.

I propose in this dark hour to once more to express our sympathy with our Soviet comrades, with the citizens of Soviet Armenia who are affected by the disaster. I would like to recall that we Bulgarians are linked with the Armenians by a historic friendship, sealed by joint suffering and joys, which was expressed in an immortal poem of our great poet Peyo Yavorov: "The Armenians".

In these tragic days we are again at the side of our Armenian brothers.

We are ready to do everything within our power to assist the Armenian people in their misfortune. [passage omitted]

Land Leasing Pros, Cons Reviewed

AU1412173888 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 50 12 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Georgi Lazarov: "Exploitation or Public Benefit?"]

[Text] Self-management, economic accountability, credit, competition...—concepts that one after the other have left the vocabulary of a restricted group of narrow specialists to enter our everyday language. It is now the turn of the terms "piecework" and "leasing"—two fundamentally different but inseparable components of the economic reform that has started in Bulgaria.

Unfortunately, as yet they remain merely terms in the language. Despite the fact that in some respects, in piecework for example, we possess some experience and traditions, their application in practice so far remains spasmodic, both in the branches and in the territorial aspect.

What are the reasons? They lie in the absence of the conditions required for their wide and effective application, and might be nominally classified under the headings of ignorance, distrust, and inability.

Ignorance

Here one has to consider not only ignorance of the normative documents in force at present. In practice such knowledge is beyond the capabilities of the ordinary man, whether he is a pieceworker or lessee, and is not always required. I am thinking of something else. First and foremost, the overwhelming majority of people are not familiar with the sense and content of the two concepts. Many people even unhesitatingly relate them to capitalism and exploitation.

Be that as it may, that is how they were described in our textbooks and books, in which piecework was a synonym for harsh exploitation, against which the workers class waged an uncompromising struggle. But now suddenly..., and this, moreover, at a time when a large number of developed countries are categorically rejecting the idea of "piecework!" The ordinary worker, who is no specialist in the fields of economics and philosophy, is amazed: Where is the world going, what is happening? Quite naturally, as dictated by his native commonsense, he refuses to take any action until "things become clear."

As far as leasing is concerned, a further issue of no small importance crops up, one which must be cleared up as soon as possible: the issue of property. The party documents contain clear statements about "the inviolability of socialist property in the multitude of forms for its management." However, how does this turn out in practice? Can a lessee be who will hardly bother about the land he has rented in the way that an owner would be called a manager? One also has to consider depreciation of the land and the basic funds, the taking of measures for its long-term development, and so on. (In some countries the state provides subsidies for land farmers for a fixed period, during which they are required to let the land "rest.")

What about the question of who is the legal owner and who is the actual owner of the land that is being leased out? First, in Bulgaria the land has not been made state property so that its legal owners should be those people who held the notarial documents of ownership decades ago. Second, the agro-industrial complexes, as the actual owners, on the one hand, have so far not operated as lessees, on the other hand. What will their position be now?

The above applies to agriculture. However, similar questions also arise in other spheres of the economy. As an example, it is sufficient to mention the "sale by auction for management," that is, leasing out, of various trading establishments.

Distrust

This is the second group of conditions. Let us leave it to the historians and sociologists to identify the roots of the famous Bulgarian distrustfulness. At the present time, the question reduces itself to the unprecedented transience and impermanence of the normative documents in force, combined with normative premises that have long since lost their topicality. The separate question arising is that the term "leasing" does not figure at all in our legislation. All this militates against the element of security and turns a sense of initiative into a pure attempt at adventurism. One can find an abundance of such examples in practice.

Inability

Under this group of factors one might include the lack of the following conditions:

—conditions of a social-psychological nature, which have already been discussed;

—conditions of a normative nature, which we have mentioned already as well.

However, we must also add a further important factor to them: the absence of a firm contract system which would provide identical legal guarantees for the interests of all sides entering into economic relations under "piecework" and "leasing" conditions. No such legal guarantees have so far existed. The party premises do indeed give due attention to this issue, but in this respect we lag behind in practice.

There is a lack of the equipment needed for the efficient (even normal) conduct of the labor process in regard to both the possibilities for providing the necessary equipment, and the condition of the equipment now available. Here one might also draw attention to the almost complete failure to utilize the wide opportunities offered by equipment leasing as a further form of leasing.

—Conditions of an economic nature (even in the nominal sense of the word "economic") are also lacking. Here one may point out that the chief obstacle is the existing monopoly of the state enterprises both in regard to the provision of raw materials, machinery, and so on, and in the purchasing of the finished products. We then come to the issue of subjectivism in its broadest sense: from the suspicion of the citizen on the sidelines who regards the "new private owners" with distrust, and sometimes even with hatred, to a certain reluctance by a number of economic and municipal figures to assist in the development of piecework and leasing relationships. In the view of many people, apart from creating headaches by increasing their obligations, from a certain moment onwards these relationships conceal the danger of placing a question mark over the need for the continued existence of their official desks at all. In other words, this is what we call "resistance of the bureaucrat."

Lastly, we come to what we nominally call social conditions. These include the need to resolve the following issues: improving the insurance and social security systems and expanding the opportunity for activities, which should represent a principal activity, not an additional one, as was previously the case.

The opponents of piecework and the leasing system often raise the argument that under such a method of working it may be impossible to ensure a technical and technological work standard that conforms to the criteria of the modern scientific and technical revolution. A viewpoint that, putting it mildly, displays a lack of competence.

Why so? First, the so-called scientific-technical revolution is not an end in itself, and is only justified in cases where it is of assistance to man. Second, a number of countries provide examples where, despite the existence of a fragmented form of farming and of small producers, there is no backwardness in the sense of the above, but rather the reverse. Third, the possibilities for piecework and the leasing system under socialism far outstrip the naive ideas of some people about "small fields." The proof of this and the alternative lies in the experience of brigade piecework in Bulgaria, the successful leasing systems in operation all over the world, and the renting of entire workshops and even enterprises by labor collectives in the Soviet Union.

However, in order to achieve what we want, we must, as well as creating the above-mentioned conditions, ensure that piecework and leasing are applied not as an economic panacea, but with care and only in situations where the conditions promise the best results. For example, piecework should be applied in solving short-term and, to a certain extent, elementary tasks (such as collecting the harvest using seasonal workers), where the deciding factor in determining remuneration must be the quality as well as the quantity of labor. Again, when leasing out, one might seek conditions for the longest tenure possible, which requires a long-term and far-sighted operating and labor policy on the part of the lessor.

However, the most important thing is to make clear one very important factor: that piecework and leasing do not exist "in general," so that we cannot place feudalism, capitalism, and socialism under the same common denominator. The reason is that these objective economic concepts acquire qualitatively different meanings, depending on a determining factor: who takes the value-added product—the feudal lord, the capitalist, or the socialist society? When the value-added product—after the lessor or piecework employer have taken their own fair share in proportion to their invested labor, skill, risk, and so on—goes to benefit the whole of society, piecework and leasing acquire a certain socialist character and may be regarded as a form of socialist management. Then we have nothing to be afraid of, and no reason to delay and speculate.

Human Rights Declaration Commemorated in Sofia

AU0912194088 Sofia BTA in English
1844 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—The 40th anniversary of the Declaration on Human Rights was marked today with a rally and with a session of the parliamentary commissions on defence of public interests and human rights, on foreign policy and legislation. The speakers noted the historical importance of the declaration, which they assessed as a document of enormous moral and political significance, assisting social advance.

At the session of the three parliamentary commissions Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Permanent Commission of the National Assembly on Defence of Public Interests and Human Rights, recalled the forthcoming radical reforms of the legal regulations with which the structure and activity of the society will be set completely in line with the principles of self-government. We want to relieve ourselves of the command-administrative methods of government, he said.

It is forthcoming to establish conditions for pluralistic expressions of opinions, to develop the forms of consensus in decision taking, to enhance the guarantees for inviolability of the person, to give way to the new forms of voluntary societies and unions of the producers and citizens. From the position of human rights we must look at ourselves as a society in development which needs new ideas and decisions revealing its advantages, said Mr Petur Dyulgerov.

The MP's adopted a draft for a declaration of the National Assembly in connection with the anniversary. The draft will be introduced for discussion at the forthcoming session of the parliament.

At a Meeting today Mr Konstantin Tellalov, chairman of the Committee on Human Rights, recalled the initiatives with which the anniversary is marked in Bulgaria. For this country the anniversary will remain related to the establishing of the Committee on Human Rights—an independent public organization.

Mr Konstantin Tellalov stressed the opinion of the committee that time has come when the individuals use the principle: Everything is permitted if it is not forbidden by the Constitution and the law; and the administrative apparatus should not forget: Only what has been permitted by the law and the Constitution is permitted. The chairman of the committee recalled the tasks of the committee. One of its main tasks is to assist the National Assembly in the improvement of the national legislation on human rights in accordance with the principles of humanism, socialist democracy and social justice.

Soviet Withdrawals Called 'Invitation to NATO'

AU1312120588 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 12 Dec 88 p 4

[Commentary by Major General Geliy Batenin, supplied by NOVOSTI]

[Text] The dynamics of the disarmament process must not only be continuous, but must also increase. To achieve this, boldness and innovation are needed in the approaches of the militarily powerful states, especially the USSR and the United States.

When the first Soviet leader presented the new ideas and views on the development of the world community from the platform of the 43d session of the UN General

Assembly, we once again were witnesses of the merging of the new thinking with concrete disarmament policy. What points would I like to especially draw attention to from the military viewpoint?

First, the Soviet Union's readiness to withdraw part of its troops from the European regions adjacent to the line of contact between the two military-political alliances: the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In fact, this is not so much a "goodwill gesture" as a striving, dictated by the logic of the new thinking, to expand the disarmament process.

The Soviet initiative on this troop withdrawal represents an invitation to the United States, the other Western states, and all European countries that have allied troops on their territories to hold specific negotiations on returning the national troops to their own territory.

Second, our country has demonstrated its desire and will to create a comprehensive system of security to free the world from the fear of a military threat. Great progress has been made: The Soviet Union has announced its decision to substantially reduce its armed forces by 500,000 men within the next 2 years, as well as to make cuts in conventional weapons.

Third, cuts in armed forces will also be made in the Asiatic part of the Soviet Union.

All this serves as a practical confirmation of the defensive orientation of the Soviet military doctrine and its political essence, that our armed forces will never be used for aggression under any circumstances, and that they have the exclusive function of repelling an invasion from the outside.

Soviet Minister Signs Cooperation Protocol

AU1312143488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Dec 88 p 2

[Report by Mila Petrova: "Pledge for Cooperation"]

[Text] Petko Danchev, chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry," and Nikolay Lemayev, minister of the petroleum-refining and petrochemical industry of the USSR, signed a protocol in Sofia on 9 December on further cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria in this field. The protocol provides for expanding the existing production capacities and creating new ones in fulfillment of the long-term program for meeting the requirements of the petroleum-production and petroleum-refining industries in the two countries.

The foundations were laid for setting up in the future a laboratory in the field of automated control of production processes, for creating "Sovbolgartekhuglerod" joint enterprises, and for manufacturing technical rubber products.

A protocol was also signed on setting up a joint enterprise in Bulgaria for the production of the "Sanko" domestic cleaning agent. This product will meet the needs of the domestic market in both countries and will also be exported internationally.

Lemayev on Joint Ventures

AU1312144788 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Dec 88 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Nikolay Lemayev, USSR minister of the petroleum-refining and petrochemical industry, by TRUD representative Rumyan Georgiev: "Let Us Earn a Billion in Profit Together"; date and place not given]

[Text] Before becoming a minister, Nikolay Lemayev worked for almost 22 years as general director of a petrochemical trust in the Tatar ASSR. He started his career as a controller in the production control room. His family is small; his wife lives in Moscow, while his daughter, her husband, and granddaughter have chosen to live in Kazan.

[Lemayev] "My visit to Bulgaria is connected with a matter about which there has been a lot of talk recently, but which is hardly ever visible: the new principles for economic integration between the socialist countries," Nikolay Lemayev said. "I believe that in our branch we can make together a lot of the products that we now import from the West. I am thinking not only of goods for household use and for industry's needs, but of the development of new technologies as well. We must work to eliminate the obstacles to direct links between the producers, and together we must invest money in science and production. The plants that I examined in Bulgaria show that you really are ahead in the computerization of technological processes and have something to offer in the construction of enterprises for the secondary refining of used petroleum products. We reached agreement with Petko Danchev, chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Association, and economic organizations that are of interest to us on constructing 10 joint enterprises and a joint laboratory, on direct production links between three of our combines and three of yours, on the long-term coordination of our plans, and on mutual deliveries of goods and equipment for modernizing existing production facilities."

"Financing will be provided by various forms of credits and compensation trading of goods in return for foods, equipment in return for products manufactured with this equipment, and so on. The result of all this may be more than a billion [currency not specified] in monetary terms. However, the achievement of this does not only depend on the signatories; since I have not grown accustomed to telling lies, I prefer to answer more specifically: The deal is worth hundreds of millions." [currency not specified]

[Georgiev] What have you managed to deal with since you became minister?

[Lemayev] With the main thing: not simply increasing production capacities in the branch, but achieving the optimum from them in order to produce not simply a lot of goods, but a lot of goods that are needed.

[Georgiev] Will you tell us more about that is happening in Western Siberia?

[Lemayev] We have invested more than 10 billion [currency not specified] in the chemical industry. As well as U.S., Japanese, and Western European firms, CEMA firms are taking part in a consortium for research, construction, and the operation of the new plants. We also talked about Bulgarian participation.

[Georgiev] What about the environment?

[Lemayev] I think that we have had enough trouble with this subject. Today "modern production" and "ecologically clean production" mean one and the same thing.

[Georgiev] In this context, how do you assess what you saw in Bulgaria?

[Lemayev] Highly. Much has been done both for the environment and for people. Perhaps other things also exist, but I saw magnificent technologies and installations as well as truly clean production facilities. This means that you have something to continue with.

Political Consulations With USSR Held

AU1512175688 Sofia BTA in English
1711 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—Mr Yevgeniy Ivanov, deputy head of a department in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, paid a visit to this country for regular political consultations from December 13 to 15. The guest was received by Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

They exchanged opinions on the situation in Asia. An analysis was made of the positive processes, developing as a result of the new approaches to the settlement of regional issues. The great significance was stressed of the new political thinking for strengthening of peace and security in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region.

Foreign Ministry Praises Brazzaville Protocol

AU1512093688 Sofia BTA in English
2034 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia December 14 (BTA)—A representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the B.T.A.: "On December 13, 1988 in the capital of the People's Republic of the Congo a document was signed which is now known as "the Brazzaville Protocol". Its signature became possible after a complicated and difficult process of negotiations held by the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa with the mediation of the United States, in which reason and new political thinking prevailed. This process, backed up actively by the U.S.S.R., led to ceasing fire in South West Africa, putting an end to the open military aggression of the regime in Pretoria, and setting in motion the mechanism of the United Nations for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 435/78.

The general improvement of the international climate, the active dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, the signature of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the ceasing of hostilities between Iran and Iraq and the seek for ways leading to a peaceful solution of the problem of Kampuchea, etc., had a favourable effect in solving the conflict in southern Africa.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, being a long-time member of the United Nations special committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and the United Nations Committee for Namibia, has always supported and backed up the just struggle of the peoples of Africa for national independence, sovereignty, free development along an independently decided path and social progress. Welcoming the signature of the Brazzaville protocol, we maintain the opinion that it is an important step towards the implementation of the United Nations plan for granting independence to Namibia and the establishment of peace and security in that region.

The consistent and constructive position of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba at the negotiations, the unilateral ceasing of fire on the part of the South West Africa People's Organization, the respect for the interests of all parties to the conflict, the readiness of the Soviet Union, the United States and the other permanent member-countries of the United Nations Security Council to guarantee the implementation of the agreement, raise tangible hopes that the chance of eliminating this trouble-spot in the African continent shall not be missed.

Peace in the region is necessary to the direct participants in the negotiations, to the countries in that region, to Africa and to the whole world.

Jakes Addresses Central Committee 15 Dec

LD1512230288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Excerpts] The 12th CPCZ Central Committee session began today in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle. [passage omitted]

The opening speech was delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central committee. First he informed the Central Committee about progress in fulfilling the resolution of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, and about the development of the political situation in the party and society. He stated that the results of the 10th party Central Committee session have, in a number of directions, been favorably projected into the overall atmosphere and development of the internal political situation in our country. They met with lively interest and positive reaction among Communists and the majority of other citizens. This is an important political asset which we should not waste in any way, comrade Milos Jakes said.

Great attention was concentrated above all on the changes the Central Committee approved or recommended, which should be realized in the cadre area and in the organizational structure of the party, Jakes said. The recommendation to bring forward the 18th CPCZ Congress by 1 year also generally met with support. The conclusions the Central Committee adopted for the development of ideological work under conditions of economic and social restructuring are gradually coming to the forefront of interest. The results of the 10th session also caused considerable reaction abroad. In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries they were adopted with understanding, and praised as another important step toward realizing the complex restructuring of our society. Progressive and democratic forces in other states also adopted realistic stands toward them. Naturally, bourgeois enemy propaganda and the media which serve it commented differently and from different positions. In harmony with some antisocialist groups in our country, they attempted, and continue to try to distort the results of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, to create a false picture about the situation in our society, about the policy of economic and social restructuring, which we are realizing together, and with similar goals to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is vital to counter all such attempts with active ideological work in a convincing and well argued way.

Comrade Milos Jakes went on to that in harmony with the conclusions of the Central Committee, the committee for party work in the Czech SR began its activity. Reactions to its formation and activity are all positive, and final details of it role and work are now being completed. It is expected that the overall activity of the committee will be undertaken by 60-70 workers selected from the CPCZ apparatus. At the same time the number of officials in the Central Committee will be reduced.

The CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission also elected an 11-member commission for the control and auditing activity of the party in the Czech SR, and is releasing 15 of its officials for its work [as heard]. All other CPCZ Central Committee standing commissions, apart from the Legal Commission, which were adopted at the last party Central Committee session, have started work. The commission preparing the new CPCZ statutes has also begun work. The Central Committee commission for the preparation of the party program will meet during the present CPCZ Central Committee session.

We are convinced, Comrade Milos Jakes continued, that the well-planned and stimulating work of all commissions will make a major contribution to CPCZ Central Committee activity, and that the commissions will make an active contribution to overcoming the important tasks before us in connection with preparations for the 18th congress, and also to reaching a more decisive solution to current tasks and problems in fulfilling the strategic policy of acceleration of socioeconomic development.

He went on to state that in the period since the 10th party Central Committee session, work was completed on a new cadre order of the Central Committee and the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, which has been put forward for evaluation to the present 12th Central Committee session. Projected within it are the requirements of the resolution for the perfecting of cadre policy adopted at the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session. An indivisible part are also principles for the creation of cadre order and their implementation in party organs and organizations. Both in the cadre order of the party Central Committee and in the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR it is respected that the most important posts should be included within them. At the same time this means strengthening the jurisdiction and responsibility of all lower links of the party structure and all the relevant management officials in organs outside the party in realizing the cadre policy of the party within the sphere of their influence.

Comrade Milos Jakes went on to point out that a new federal government was appointed immediately after the 10th Central Committee session, and changes in national governments were made. The Central Committee Presidium gave great attention to the preparation of the policy statement of the new federal government, which was accepted positively by the party and among the public. Its clear and understandable language, its openness, its critical and concrete nature, its touching on questions our citizens concentrate on, was praised. It emerges from its character that the federal government is aware of its great responsibility, and that it wishes to live up to this responsibility.

The decisive thing, Comrade Milos Jakes emphasized, is to secure the realization of the statement's aims in an enrgetic way, with consistent conceptual, organizational and control activity, and not to back away from obstacles, not to be afraid of problems, possible conflicts, and risks. The Presidium recommends the Central Committee to give full party support to the government policy statement and its fulfillment. Namely, it is a case of acting politically and ideologically in such a way that the fulfillment of the policy statement becomes the affair of all the people, above all the affair of all state, economic, and social organs and organizations, and all self-managed organs. Comrade Milos Jakes said that this is in the interest of every citizen, of all society; in the interest of a faster achievement of the desired results in the socioeconomic area; in the interest of an improved standard of living; and in fulfiling the goals of economic and social restructuring.

In particular this requires reductions in production expenditure and energy consumption, and on materials and raw materials. This cannot be done without faster progress in changes of the production structure, innovation of products and technology, without more marked utilization of the results of science and techology, and without a more decisive resolution of shortcomings in the objectives and low effectiveness of investments. It is necessary to strictly uphold the relationship between the growth of wages and labour productivity, to strengthen discipline and order, and to widely develop the acivity and initiative of the people.

In another part of his opening speech at the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session, Comrade Milos Jakes briefly touched on some socioeconomic questions, next year's plan, and progress in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. He pointed to the decision to implement the new economic mechanism in practice a year earlier than was originally envisaged, that is, on 1 January 1990. The party Central Committee supports this decision and considers it to be justified. It is a very demanding and complicated task, and is also connected with risks, which are not small. Its fulfillment demands thorough political, economic, cadre, ideological, and organizational arrangements. We must place emphasis on ensuring that concurrently with orgnizational changes, the implementation of new economic instruments, the setting up of self-management organs, and the election of directors, changes in the content, style and work methods in the overall behavior of all parts of management and management workers are made more quickly. This is the main and determining factor if restructuring is to bring the desired results more quickly, Comrade Milos Jakes said.

As far as the reduction in the number of workers of central, federal, and republic organs is concerned, he said that about half the workers from the overall envisaged number to be released, have left. It is necessary to insist that together with a reduction in the number of officials, the relevant spaces and facilities are also dropped. Progress, however, is slow, with the exception of a few ministries. In many places, various ways and excuses for bypassing this task are being sought, which cannot be tolerated. It is necessary to solve any pressing problems which make the life of the people more difficult, and to influence the overall social and—one could also say political—climate, much more decisively. In particular it is a matter of realizing the adopted measures for improving supplies to the domestic market, particularly with industrial products, and to draw conclusions against those who do not fulfil their tasks. It is necessary to say that the difficulties we have on the domestic market cannot be linked to the present government activity. Even though deliveries of a number of goods have been increased, there is still a long way to its being satisfactory. Equilibrium on the domestic market has been disturbed. A pressing requirement is to secure a rythmic supply. For this, the understanding of the people is necessary so that they do not fall prey to buying fever, and do not stock up with products unnecessarily. There must also be greater order in trade, so that goods are ordered in good time and reach the shops.

The main solution to securing stability in the domestic market is in production, in its quality, in the variety and price range of products. This is why we continue to place such emphasis on the fulfillment of the tasks of the state plan, and on ensuring that wages, rewards and shares are consistently tied to the real results in production. A different path would lead to nothing other than inflation.

Comrade Milos Jakes said further that it is not possible to allow anonymity in any sector or level of management, anywhere. Everywhere it is necessary to fully implement the principle that all persons behind good or poor work, behind every success or shortcoming, are accountable. Everyone, wherever he may work, is responsible for something, and must carry the consequences for it, whether they are good or bad. Anonymous criticism is turned against the party, against the Central Committee, and the government. Shortages and problems will in the end be considered as part of the socialist system.

Comrade Milos Jakes described health care as an important part of the living and cultural standards of the people. He pointed out that we will have to give consistent attention to this question so that the conclusions adopted will be consistently introduced into practice everywhere. At the same time the health service, its facilities and institutions, can solve only part of the task in this sphere. All society has a duty to secure care for the health of the people as an indivisible part of our economic and social development. At the same time it is vital that every citizen should behave with the greatest of responsibility and respect toward his own health.

Comrade Milos Jakes went on to focus on the work of the Federal Assembly in the past 2 months. As well as the Federal Government policy statement, it discussed and approved other important laws extending the political and legal prerequisites for the acceleration of economic restructuring and for the deepening of socialist democracy. Undoubtedly the approval of the amendments to the Labor Code is of considerable importance, the principles of which were completed on the basis of the results of public discussion, the standpoint of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and sessions of the committees of the deputies of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations.

Support was also given to the appeal by the Federal Assembly and the standpoint of the National Front Central Committee on adherence to the socialist rule of law and deepening socialist democracy. These also react to the fact that certain individuals and groups, supported by certain forces in the West, are trying, at variance with the honest efforts of the working people, to disrupt the process of restructuring and democratization, and misuse it for antisocialist aims. This is particularly the case in Prague, and the attempt to profane and disrupt the dignified course of the celebrations of the state holiday of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic, the organization of a seminar in connection with that date, and also the misuse of the authorized gathering to mark the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for blatant attacks against socialism were also meant to serve this end. These are attempts by individuals and groups to bring about a confrontation, and they cannot be tolerated. They have nothing in common with true democratization, restructuring, and the interests of our people, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed.

Active support for political, economic, and social restructuring, and for the conclusions of the 10th party Central Committee session was expressed by the congresses of the Czechoslovak Physical Training Union, the Union for Cooperation with the Army, the Socialist Academy, and other important sessions of National Front bodies and organizations, Comrade Milos Jakes noted. This was fully demonstrated at meetings with the other political parties affiliated to the National Front. Also significant in this context was the November session of the National Front Central Committee, which dealt with further increasing the activity and share of its affiliated organizations in implementing the tasks of socioeconomic development, restructuring, and democratization, and in dealing with the problems and shortcomings which are holding back a speedier progress.

The National Front Central Committee approved the composition of the CPCZ and National Front Commission for Drafting a New CSSR constitution. It also approved the request by the Czech and Slovak nature conservation unions to be accepted in the National Front. On the initiative of the November session of the National Front Central Committee, a Czechoslovak public forum was held to mark the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Human Rights Day; the forum established a committee of the Czechoslovak public for human rights and humanitarian cooperation. We expect this committee to contribute to strengthening the basis for asserting the rights of our citizens, to developing the international dialogue on humanitarian cooperation, and to fulfilling the commitments undertaken in the field of human rights, Comrade Milos Jakes said.

Comrade Milos Jakes focused attention on the important events in the international sphere since the 10th Central Committee session. The new federal premier, Ladislav Adamec, made a visit to the Soviet Union, during which a series of questions of economic cooperation were discussed and agreed. The working visit to Czechoslovakia by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee had been very important. The ideological cooperation program between the CPCZ and the CPSU, which was signed during his visit, provides for the further expansion of interaction between both parties in ideological education work, in the activity of the mass media, in science, education and culture, and other fields.

Czechoslovakia was also visited by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Angolan People's Republic and chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party, and a number of other leading figures from foreign countries. Our party and state representatives held numerous talks in the USSR, GDR, and other states. Last week, Czechoslovakia was visited by French President Francois Mitterrand. This first visit of the French president in our country elevated the Czechoslovak-French dialogue onto a higher level, created good prerequisites for further development of mutual relations, and provided new incentives for deepening cooperation in all spheres. In contacts with our Western partners, Comrade Milos Jakes continued, we are expressing sincere interest in transforming Europe into a continent of lasting peace and cooperation, and we provide the necessary incentives for this. The Czechoslovak proposal to set up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact of the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO is aimed in this direction. We are actively striving for a rapid end to the Vienna follow-up meeting, the results of which can contribute toward development of the all-european process, toward talks on substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional weaponry in Europe, and toward economic, scientific-technical, ecological, and humanitarian cooperation.

In our party and state foreign policy we support everything that serves the cause of peace, strengthens international security, broadens cooperation and understanding among states and peoples, Comrade Milos Jakes said, and recalled in this connection the recent model international conference on the Near East. He voiced the conviction that implementation of the suggestions and recommendations of the conference would strengthen the positive processes in the world. At the same time we support the results of the Palestinian national Council session held in Algiers. In the declaration of a Palestinian state we see hope for the fulfillment of the inalienable and legal rights of the Palestinian people, and a promise of peace for all people living in the Near East. The most significant event of the past days in the international political sphere was designated by Comrade Milos Jakes as the trip of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to the United States, his principled address at the United Nations, talks with current President Ronald Reagan and the newly elected president, George Bush. Cormade Gorbachev delivered in the United Nations, in harmony with the agreed common line of the socialist countries, new signficant foreign political initiatives which represent a significant program for further depening the process of improvement of international relations, strengthening trust between states and peoples, and solving the global problems facing civilization.

Czechoslovakia fully supports this program. Part of it is formed by unilateral measures concerning the armed forces and conventional weaponry. In the case of Czechoslovakia, this phase will involve withdrawal of one Soviet tank division from our territory and its subsequent dissolution. This decision was discussed with us and has our support, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed. Other measures will be adopted as well, including our own. We believe that this gesture of goodwill should find within NATO a favorable reply, and that it will provide an impulse for the European disarmament process.

As is known, in connection with the tragic events in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, as a result of the destructive earthquake, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev interrupted his visit to the United States. Today's CPCZ Central Committee session expressed to the USSR party and state leadership, the Soviet people, deep condolences on the loss of many thousands of lives and the considerable material losses. We highly appreciate the humane, internationalist approach of our citizens, who spontaneously, materially and financially, and by donating their blood, have tried and are trying to help the fraternal people overcome the difficult results of the earthquake and contribute toward saving lives in the affected areas of Armenia, Comrade Milos Jakes said.

He went on to say that in the period since the 10th party Central Committee session, another step has been made along the path of restructuring and democratization. In assessing the situation in the party and in society, we bear in mind, he continued, that the development in our country is accompanied by a number of serious problems. In many places old approaches predominate; formalism, red tape, and stereotypes have deep roots. Development is slow, particularly in the strategic spheres, thus limiting a healthy and stable development of society. Required above all is a consistent move to intensive development, a considerable increase in efficiency, and improved technical standards in the national economy. The planned aims at creating the resources which are necessary prerequisites for implementing a strong social policy and safeguarding social security, for strengthening people's trust toward the policy of the party and the growth of its influence in society, are not being fulfilled.

Much has yet to be done to improve the overall moral atmosphere in society, so that the socialist understanding of social justice might become the norm everywhere, so that indifference might be eradicated, as with egalitarianism and various forms of parasitism, so that high praise might be awarded to honest and high quality work. In this connection Comrade Milos Jakes again stressed that the key to successful implementation of the policy of economic and social restructuring is the standard of party work and its firm links with the people.

He went on to say that the Central Committee Presidium submits to the 12th session a proposal to call the 18th CPCZ Congress for 10 May 1990. When assessing the reasons for the convocation of the congress a year ahead of schedule, he said that significant changes are taking place in our party and society today, and completely new tasks, requirements, and problems are taking shape, the assessment and solution of which are a party congress task. Also desirable is that the guidelines for the Ninth 5-Year Plan might be discussed prior to the beginning of the new 5-year plan. The significance of the preparation and convocation of the 18th party congress is determined by the need to achieve a new quality of socialist society and its connection with the advantages of the scientific-technical revolution. The congress will also assess how we entered this stage. It will discuss the results achieved in the social and economic spheres, the rates of economic and social restructuring, and will adopt conclusions on future party policy in implementing the strategy of speeding up social and economic development for the benefit of society, socialism, and peace. The congress will discuss a report of the party Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Commission, principles of the program, new draft party statues, guidelines for social and economic development in the 9th 5-Year Plan, and will elect a new CPCZ Central Committee and Central Control and Auditing Commission.

Some basic documents, in particular the principles of the program and draft statutes, will be put forward for discussion, Comrade Milos Jakes said. He then explained why the principles, and not the party program are being discussed. We expect, he continued, that the 18th congress will also evaluate the principles of the new CSSR Constitution. As far as the preparations for the 18th congress are concerned, he pointed out that the newly created Central Committee commissions will play a great role. He described the annual members' meetings and party conferences which will precede it as an exceptionally important part of the preparations for the congress. He described the removal of half-measures and inconsistency in the realization of the party Central Committee resolutions, which were positively received in the party and by society, as a reliable way toward achieving good results.

Every party organ, every organization must fully support bold creative approaches to solving tasks and problems, everything new and progressive emerging out of practice, must apply and broaden positive experiences, must demandingly analyze the causes of delays, must concentrate on correcting weaknesses and shortcomings, and all unfulfilled resolutions and measures. Freedom and discussion, the creation of an atmosphere in which every party member has the feeling that his view is requested, that his every suggestion will be realistically evaluated must be secured in the work of every party organization.

We must raise the ideological and organizational unity of the party to the level of the new tasks. Particularly in the period of great social changes It is necessary that leading cadres, and the party as a whole, correctly understand these changes and taken the corresponding timely measures to ensure that the party always stands at the front, that it is the true vanguard of society, so that its unity, action capability, and links with the people are strengthened.

Comrade Milos Jakes said that the consistent implementation of collective action in party work is an important requirement. Openness in the activity of party organs and organizations among an extensively informed public must become the norm, so that workers can share in the joint task, so that there is enlightened dialogue with them about the creation and methods of the realization of party policy, the solving of problems they meet. An indivisible part of internal party democracy is decision-making on the basis of alternative proposals, accounts being given by committees, officials, and individual communists, regular changes of leading officials, elections on the basis of elections from a number of candidates, implementation of the principle that no one, whatever his position, can be above criticism and control. It is vital to place great emphasis everywhere on the deepening of democracy in realizing the party's leading role.

Comrade Milos Jakes went on to point out that our political system creates space for wide democratic implementation of pluralism of interests and views, and once again emphasized that we are in favor of socialist pluralism, which does not and cannot have anything in common with the creation and functioning of antisocialist political structures. The realization of the restructuring of the economy and society, the achievements of changes in the spiritual sphere of society, the correct application of the political leadership, the uniting of all communists and all citizens on the basis of the political line of the party, is indivisibly linked with raising the quality of ideological work. Party organs and organizations, in the precongress period must extensively develop ideological activity, particularly every-day mass political work. We must also raise the criteria of communist moral values in party life. The precongress campaign should contribute toward ensuring that every communist makes use of his rights and fulfills his duties as the party statutes demand. It is necessary to put an end to all excuse-making, tolerance, and exoneration, which allows socioeconomic parasitism, which leads to moral, ideological, and political decomposition. The principled nature of communism must begin to be fully implemented, for without the removal of amoral phenomena it is difficult to bind the party together and the workers around the party, Comrade Milos Jakes said.

An immediate task on which attention must be concentrated immediately after the 12th party Central Committee session is an active launch into the fulfillment of next year's plan. It is also necessary to ensure the next stage of the restructuring of the production, scientific research, and circulation base and the tasks which emerge from this for central organs is done in a political cadre and ideological way. It is also important that all basic questions connected with the restructuring of the economic mechanism are solved with the active participation of work collectives.

Comrade Milos Jakes reported that Comrade Vasil Bilak asked to be relieved of his duties as a member of the Presidium, the secretariat and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and chairman of the Central Committee Foreign Policy Commission. In a letter addressed to the Central Committee Presidium, he stated:

Esteemed comrades. This year it is 20 years since my election as secretary of the CPCZ Central committee and member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. Also, I am 71 years old. These facts lead me to ask the CPCZ Central Committee to release me from the office of secretary, member of the Secretariat, and member of the Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Committee Foreign Policy Commission.

The Presidium, Comrade Milos Jakes continued, evaluated the request of Comrade Bilak, and recommends that the Central Committee agree to the request. In the name of the Presidium, and I am sure on behalf of the whole Central Committee, I wish to highly praise the work Comrade Vasil Bilak has done for our party and socialist society, for our friendship alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union, with its Leninist Communist Party, and for strengthening international ties with other socialist countries and fraternal parties. We sincerely thank him for this great work. The whole life of Comrade Bilak is linked with the struggles of the CPCZ for the interests and happy life of the working class, of the workers. As a consistent patriot and internationalist he played an active part in these struggles. In particular I would like to praise his contribution to strengthening the positions of our party in the international communist and workers movement, Comrade Milos Jakes said.

Continuing, he said that he fully showed the bravery of a communist, and fidelity to the party, to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, and to friendship with the Soviet Union during the difficult crisis years, and in overcoming their consequences. For many years Comrade Bilak was active in the leadership of our party and gained recognition and respect. His work was more than once recognized with our own and foreign prestigious medals and awards. We wish Comrade Bilak good health in future years. We believe that with his knowledge and rich experiences he will continue to contribute to solving the problems which face us, to overcoming the tasks of comprehensive restructuring and the democratization of our society, to the strengthening of the unity and action capability of our party.

In addition, Comrade Josef Kempny has asked to be released from his post as member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. In his letter addressed to the general secretary of the party Central Committee, he states:

Dear comrade, in view of the fact that I have been elected a member of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, I ask to be released from the post of member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

The Presidium, Comrade Milos Jakes stated, recommends that the Central Committee, in keeping with the principle of the nonaccumulation of posts, also grants Comrade Kempny's request. We wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to his creditable work carried out over many years in the leadership of our party, and to thank him. Comrade Kempny's life is linked with the struggle of the Communist Party, for the triumph and development of socialism in our country, to which he made his contribution in carrying out important party and state posts. Comrade Kempny, as chairman of the Czech National Council, will continue to work in the post of member of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, where he will also be able to make full use of his experience gained in his long work as member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

In the context of setting-up the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, and as a result of this, and in the context of the transfer of a series of activities in the economic and other spheres to the remit of this committee, it is proposed to reduce the number of party Central Committee secretaries and also departments. On this basis, the Presidium recommends the Central Committee to release Comrade Mikulas Beno from his post as member of the Secretariat and secretary of the party Central Committee, with the condition that he takes up the post of chairman of the Federal Material Reserves Administration.

On behalf of the Presidium and of the Central Committee, Comrade Milos Jakes thanked Comrade Beno for his meritorious work to date carried out conscientiously in party posts, and wished him every success in his further responsible work.

The proposed changes, he said, correspond to the conclusions adopted at the ninth party Central Committee session concerning arrangements for a healthy exchange of cadres in leading bodies of the party. This also results in a reduction in the number of members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium which was temporarily increased in the interests of electing new and younger comrades to this body, Comrade Milos Jakes said, on behalf of the Presidium he asked the Central Committee to support the proposed cadre changes.

Concluding his opening speech, he stressed that the decision to convene the 18th congress took the CPCZ into an exceptionally important phase of intensive work, which will require an active and highly responsible approach from all party organs and organizations, and from every communist. All party work must be directed at implementing the watchword. In the unity of the party and people, and through the path of restructuring and democratization for the development of socialist society.

Commentary Criticizes Western Delays at CSCE

AU1512134088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
8 Dec 88 pp 1, 7

[Commentary by Bratislava PRAVDA staffer Jozef Janton: "The CSCE Follow-Up Meeting Will Not End This Year; The West Employs Delaying Tactics"]

[Text] Vienna—The Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, which was expected to end by the end of this year in order to be able immediately to launch talks on conventional disarmament in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, will continue after the New Year. The present round will be interrupted before the Christmas holidays by what is already the second technical intermission lasting several weeks (the first one was in August).

In the current situation, when one can clearly register in Vienna the delaying tactics by the West, which is also reflected in the selective approach to problems connected with the talks, thus far at least one obstacle to the acceleration of the work on the final document was removed. What is involved is that the United States was striving to separate the future talks on conventional disarmament from the CSCE process. However, several Western states, France for example, did not support that attempt. But in the corridors of the Vienna follow-up meeting, a report had spread that Washington and Paris have arrived at an agreement at the level of experts, on that issue. Now one is waiting for a session of the NATO Council, which is to be held in the next few days, and which has to discuss this problem.

However, in the parallel discussions of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states, which are drawing up a mandate for the future talks on conventional disarmament, the West blocked not only the progress of work on this, but also on several other issues. The Warsaw Pact member states recently protested against these obviously delaying tactics.

In addition to this, some Western countries are continuing their attempts to torpedo an early elaboration of the final document, for which, the socialist countries, in particular, are striving, by putting forward problems related to human rights. It is especially Great Britain which is not only most active in that respect, but also most hypocritical, because it obviously violates the Helsinki Final Act in points which precisely pertain to human rights.

There are also open questions connected with the follow-up actions of the Vienna meeting. For example, in economic, scientific-technical, or ecological cooperation both the East and West European states are striving to intensify mutual cooperation, a matter which would greatly help with the building of the common European home, but also here, in Vienna, they are coming up against the negative stances of the United States, which, thus far, has been most vehemently opposing the Czechoslovak proposal to hold an economic forum in Prague.

Leaders' Condolences on Armenian Earthquake

AU1512141488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Condolences to USSR"]

[Text] Prague— Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committe, CSSR President Gustav Husak, and CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec have sent the following telegram of condolences to Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades; we received with profound sorrow the report on the strong earthquake in the Armenian SSR, which caused considerable material damage and claimed human lives. Permit us to express the sincere compassion and sympathy of the Czechoslovak working people to you, the Soviet people, and the bereaved and affected families.

Special Flight Carries Aid to Armenia

LD1312182188 Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 13 (CTK)—A special Czechoslovak plane with first part of government aid to earthquake-hit Armenia left for the USSR today. Further air and camion transport is organized in cooperation with the Soviet Embassy in Prague.

A special commission for organizing material aid to Armenia was set up by the Czechoslovak Government immediately after the report of the tragical consequences of the earthquake. The relief aid includes drugs, infusion and transfusion equipment and other medical material, clothing, footwear, blankets, sleeping-bags, school equipment and provisional housing units.

Hrivnak Concludes Moscow Visit, Departs

AU1512115688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 88 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Pavel Hrivnak, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, concluded his visit to the Soviet Union on Wednesday [7 December], and left Moscow for Prague. In the USSR he discussed the possibility of intensifying the two countries' economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Agricultural Cooperation With USSR Discussed

AU1512120188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Excerpt] A session of a CSSR - USSR working group for the agricultural-industrial complex is held in Prague. The centerpoint of the deliberations is the intensification of cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere and in the further development of direct relations between agricultural and food-processing organizations. [passage omitted]

Hegenbart-Led Delegation Leaves for Moscow 5 Dec

AU1212162688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Dec 88 p 2

["z"-signed report: "CPCZ Central Committee's Study Delegation Departs"]

[Text] Prague—A study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee headed by Rudolf Hegenbart, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, left Prague by air for Moscow on Monday [5 December] at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was seen off at Ruzyne Airport by Michal Stefanak, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, and Miroslav Novak, chief of the Main Staff of the CSSR People's Militia. Marat Kuznetsov, charge d'affaires ad interim of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, was also present.

Delegation Returns 10 Dec

AU1412151988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 88 p 3

["(z)"-signed report: "Study Delegation Returns From USSR"]

[Text] Prague—The study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, headed by Rudolf Hegenbart, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, on Saturday [10 December] returned from the USSR, which it had visited at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

'Detained' People Exchanged With FRG at Wartha
LD1512152388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1502 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the basis of agreements between representatives of the GDR and the FRG, an exchange of people detained in the two states took place today at the GDR's Wartha crossing point.

'Arafat Departs for Romania, Seen Off by Fischer
LD1512173188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1545 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] (ADN)—PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat ended his working visit to the GDR this afternoon and left for Bucharest. The GDR Foreign Affairs Minister Oskar Fischer was at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport to wish him and his entourage a warm farewell. Also present were leading members of the SED Central Committee International Relations Department and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The ambassadors of the PLO and of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the GDR, Dr 'Isam Kamal Salim and Gheorghe Caranfil, as well as other ambassadors of Arab states were there.

At the flag-bedecked airport, an honor guard of the National People's Army saluted the guest, as it had on his arrival. At the steps of the aircraft, the GDR foreign minister wished the PLO Executive Committee Chairman a pleasant journey.

Honecker Greets CPSU's Yakovlev on Birthday
AU0912175188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On behalf of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, cordially congratulated Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on his 65th birthday. The greetings address contains the following passages: "Together with the greetings on your day of honor, I would like to express our sincere gratitude for your work to further strengthen the militant alliance between our two parties, which again and again continues to prove to be the central part of the inexhaustible source of strength for the fraternal relations between our states and peoples. Please accept my best wishes for great success in your responsible work within the collective of the CPSU leadership, for good health, and personal well-being."

Honecker Reaction to Gorbachev Proposals Viewed
LD1312135088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 13 Dec 88

[By Djordje Milosevic]

[Text] Berlin, Dec 13 (TANJUG)—Never before has Berlin's reaction to an international event been so swift and direct as in the case of the recent speech by Mikhail Gorbachev in the United Nations last Thursday, in which the Soviet leader announced a withdrawal of a number of Soviet troops from the Democratic Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

East German state and party leader Erich Honecker welcomed the Soviet decision within hours of Gorbachev's speech. To do this, Honecker even added a passage to his toast prepared in advance of a formal dinner in honour of visiting Yugoslav Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic, a fact to which foreign reporters' attention was particularly drawn.

A day later, Berlin's official stance was confirmed by the party organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and by Defence Minister Army General Heinz Kessler.

Kessler, however, lost no time praising the Soviet decision but went further by claiming that the move would by no means diminish the defence strength of the Warsaw Treaty. Apart from its European dimension, Moscow's decision to withdraw six tank divisions from three European countries also has an internatioal aspect. In addition to the GDR' 120,000-strong Army under direct Soviet command, the Soviet Union has in the German Democratic Republic five Armies numbering about 400,000 troops and equipped with most advanced armaments.

The fact that this huge military potential geographically confronts strong NATO forces in the neighbouring Federal Republic of Germany has always had a special significance in intra-German relations.

Berlin's defence minister last summer offered his West German counterpart, Rupert Scholtz, a dialogue on the two countries' possible contribution to the process of disarmament in Europe. It was especially stressed on that occasion that the Warsaw Treaty does not want military supremacy nor has any intention of ever waging aggressive wars, but would also not allow the supremacy of "the other side".

Bonn's reply to the proposal still has not been received.

As unofficially learned in Berlin, the Soviet decision would not take much to carry out as indicated at recent talks between minister Kessler and ranking military officials of the command of the Soviet military contingent in the GDR.

Kessler Meets USSR Border Guard Troops Chief
AU1412105788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [9 December] Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense, received Army General Vadim Matrosov, deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security and chief of the Main Directorate of Border Guard Troops, who is staying in the GDR at the head of a delegation of the Soviet border guard troops.

During the friendly meeting in the Defense Ministry, both sides paid tribute to the decade-long close cooperation between the border troops of the GDR and the USSR. Army General Kessler noted that the decisions of the Soviet Union—coordinated with its allies—to again make unilateral advance moves in the interest of disarmament and international security, which were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, are another important contribution to the improvement of the world situation.

The members of the National People's Army and the GDR border troops welcomed this far-reaching disarmament initiative with satisfaction. It demonstrates the seriousness and determination of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states to implement their peace program and it stresses the consistent defensive character of their military doctrine, the minister stressed.

Army General Matrosov expressed thanks for the hospitality. He assessed the delegation's stay in the GDR as evidence of the firm, steady deepening class alliance between the two peoples.

Army General Heinz Kessler expressed his profound condolences to the Soviet guests with regard to the serious earthquake disaster in the Soviet Republic of Armenia. He assured them of the sincere sympathy of the Army members and border soldiers. The meeting was attended by Colonel General Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, deputy defense minister and chief of the GDR border troops.

Reportage on Visit of Poland's Premier Rakowski

Press Statement Issued

LD0512154688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1428 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR, met at the Council of Ministers building on Monday morning for a first friendly meeting. Afterwards they began their official talks. The extensive exchange of views focused on the development in the two socialist countries, the state and outlook of bilateral cooperation, as well as current issues of the struggle for peace, security, and disarmament.

Willi Stoph briefed his guest, on the basis of the assessments and resolutions of the 7th SED Central Committee meeting, about current meeting, about current problems of the economic and socioeconomic development of the GDR. For the GDR, the chairman of the Council of Ministers emphasized, economic and social policy remains the crucial field in the further shaping of advanced socialist society. The GDR views this policy as a process of far-reaching changes. At the same time, it proceeds from the dialectic of continuity and renewal, and uses the experiences of the other socialist countries.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski spoke about the present situation in the PPR. Party and government are trying to solve the exacting tasks posed by the 10th party congress in the direction of political and economic reforms. The Polish prime minister said that consolidation of the economic development and improvement of the living standard of the population are particularly urgent tasks. The next steps in solving this issue were explained in detail.

Willi Stoph and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski noted with satisfaction that cooperation between the two parties and states is at a high level and has received valuable impulses especially through the regular meetings between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski. They called for the further intensification and more effective shaping of the manifold contacts between the two countries and emphasized the need to increase exchanges of experiences.

Willi Stoph and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski paid special attention to economic and scientific-technological cooperation. They noted with satisfaction that the long-term program of cooperation in science, technology and production to the year 2000, signed by Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, is being fulfilled and finds expression in the continuing high growth rates for trade.

The two statesmen concurred that there is a need to further increase stability in view of the high degree of interlocking of their national economies. They advocated that scientific-technological cooperation, specialization, and cooperation be aimed increasingly at the key areas of scientific-technological progress.

Willi Stoph emphasized in this connection that the GDR is emphatically in favor of fully exploiting the relevant potentials of cooperation with the fraternal countries and, at the same time, of making its own contribution toward the realizaton of the CMEA program.

The coordination of the 1991-1995 national economic plans is considered the main instrument for matching up economic policy.

While discussing international issues, it was underlined that despite all the complications and contradictions of the international situation, positive developments are emerging. It is necessary to step up efforts to avert the danger of war, to consolidate peace, and to strengthen trust and international cooperation. The proposals of the Warsaw pact member states offer a good basis for this.

The conclusion and incipient realization of the treaty between the USSR and United States on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles is a first step on the way to nuclear disarmament. The conclusion of a treaty halving the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and United States, while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty, is a current requirement to promote the process of nuclear disarmament. The colocutors said that the creation of nuclear and chemical weapon free zones are a suitable step on the way toward a world without weapons of mass destruction.

At the end of the talks a joint press statement was agreed upon.

The talks, which took place in an open, friendly atmosphere, were attended:

For the GDR: by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section of the GDR/PPR joint economic committee; Harry Ott, deputy foreign minister; Dieter Albrecht, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; Dietrich Lemke, deputy minister of foreign trade, and Juergen van Zwoll, the GDR's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the PPR.

For the PPR: by Ireneusz Sekula, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Stanislaw Dlugosz, acting chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers; Boleslaw Kulski, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry; Stanislaw Amanowicz, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations; Edmund Pawlak, director-general at the Office of the Council of Ministers; and Janusz Obodowski, the PPR's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR.

Stoph, Rakowski Dinner Toasts

LD0512161988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1452 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, today in Berlin paid tribute to the further strengthening of the unshakable alliance between the GDR and the PPR and to the joint struggle for socialism and peace. At a luncheon given by Willi Stoph in the Unter den Linden Palace in honor of Mieczslaw F. Rakowski, they expressed their certainty that important impetus for the friendship and cooperation between the two states and peoples would emanate from this working visit.

Present at the luncheon were members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Guenther Kleiber and Alfred Neumann, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dr Hans Reichelt, and Horst Soelle; and Guenter Sieber director of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee; other members of the Council of Ministers; and other personalities. On the Polish side, the entourage of the chairman of the Council of Ministers was also present.

In his toast, Willi Stoph welcomed the Polish guest and his entourage as good friends to whom the GDR were linked through traditional relations of diverse cooperation and the joint struggle for socialism and peace in the world. Today's meeting was continuing the tried and tested practice of regular meetings between the two states and peoples. The relations which have grown over the past 4 decades between the SED and the PZPR and between the GDR and the PPR are also reflected in this. With this comradely exchange of views, the joint will to strengthen further and continually the unshakable alliance between the socialist neighbor-states as a lasting element in the post-war European order and as a stable factor of security and peace was being affirmed.

The relations between the two countries have reached a high level, and in recent years have been enriched by new forms and content which continued to mark the historical new relations between the two peoples, said Willi Stoph. He paid tribute to the children and youth exchange scheme, initiated 6 years ago by leading representatives of both parties and states, in which over 1.8 million children and young people from both sides of the Oder-Neisse peace border have already participated. Truly historical significance was due to the agreement on the friendship work of the GDR and PPR youth, which Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski signed only a few months ago on the occasion of the fourth friendship meeting of the youth of the two countries.

The race against time and the necessity of further marking the superiority of the socialist order of society in all areas requires the bestowing of ever-greater dynamism on the cooperation between the two peoples and states in all spheres in order to further determinedly raise its effectiveness and quality.

The meeting was taking place at the end of a year which has brought encouraging progress for lasting peace and cooperation, based on mutual respect, among all nations on our planet which is so threatened, the GDR prime minister stressed. Thanks to the socialist states constructive and flexible peace policy, in particular to the initiatives of the Soviet Union; as a result of the involvement of a broad world public; and as a result of the realism of leading politicians in the West, the prospects for a world free of nuclear threat have become greater.

In international relations, a change for the better was beginning. In 1988, the Warsaw Pact states, including the GDR and the Polish People's Republic, submitted extremely relevant and realistic proposals to create a favorable climate for this. With our proposals, we ask no more of the other side, he stressed, than we ourselves are ready to give. This applies both to the extent of arms reduction and to its strict monitoring.

With its policy of dialogue, cooperation, and trust-building, the GDR has proven to be a reliable and accountable partner in the efforts to ensure a peaceful future for mankind. The GDR continued to attach great importance to the further strengthening of socialism and the deepening of cooperation within the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA. In addition to proven forms of political and economic collaboration, we favor, where necessary, the establishment of new, effective paths, said Willi Stoph. An essential precondition for this is the coordination of the national economic plans for the period 1991 to 1995.

The SED and all the workers of our country have always followed with sympathy and understanding the great efforts which the Polish communists, in league with all the patriotic forces in the country, are undertaking to further expand socialism in their country under the peculiar national conditions in Poland, he said.

The achievements can be denied by no one. People's Poland can, in the future as in the past, count on the firm solidarity of the GDR. The SED is approaching the 12th party congress convened for May 1990 with great initiative and confidence in victory. At the 7th Central Committee meeting, thanks to the industrious work of all workers, a successful review or past achievements could be made. At the same time, important decisions made, which are directed at continuing the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy. In the future too, we shall respond to new questions that we encounter, and seek solutions which meet the current requirements and specific conditions of our country. In this, we use the experiences of the fraternal countries, Willi Stoph stressed.

Next year, the 45th anniversary of the rebirth of Poland and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR will be jointly celebrated. At this time, the entire world will be shown that Germans and Poles on both sides of the Oder-Neisse frontier have sealed a firm bond of friendship for all time and are treading the path of socialism together.

In his reply, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski referred to the friendship, partnership, and fruitful cooperation which has continued for nearly 40 years now. Its basis is, and remains, the ideological unity and the identity of objectives and interests resulting from membership in the socialist community of states, the defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact, and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. The creation of the frontier of friendship and peace on the Odra and Lausitz Nysa was a turning point in the history of the relations between the country and the people of Poland and the Germans. These relations had been painfully strained through strife and contention and the particularly tragic experiences of the World War II.

The consolidation of the alliance, the fraternal relations and overall cooperation with our closest neighbors is, and remains, the essential point and highest priority for the PPR's foreign policy, he underlined. The comprehensive record of the past 2 decades comprises the overall development of bilateral cooperation and the resultant high state of the political, economic, cultural-scientific, and social relations, as well as the fruitful cooperation of the two states in the international arena. One important achievement of the friendly cooperation during that period was also the far-reaching changes of the social awareness in the two countries, including above all in the young generation. Guided by the reflection on further deepening this process, the "Treaty of Youth Friendship," carrying the signatures of the two parties' highest representatives, Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, was signed.

Under the conditions of adjoining borders and an expanded infrastructure of contacts and mutual ties, our cooperation is not free of problems and difficulties, he continued. This is normal. However, among friends there are not, and should not be any, unsolvable problems. They should be solved in the spirit of friendship, accommodation, and understanding of the partner's interests; in the awareness, of the higher objectives of cooperation and the responsible role of the two states in Europe. Next the Polish prime minister dealt with the present useful exchange of experiences, views and information on various issues of mutual interest.

The talks have strengthened our conviction, he said, that the development model of socialism must be a result of the sovereign decision of the individual states, while taking account of the national characteristics, historic traditions, and current conditions. The development level of the restructuring in the individual socialist countries is varied. This is due to different requirements and conditions. However, the problem is to ensure that this differentiation will not become an obstacle to the development of mutual cooperation. The guest noted with satisfaction that the two parties' positions are identical on this issue.

Under Polish conditions, the far-reaching change of the economic and social structures has become an objective, essential necessity. The current development phasse of socialism in Poland demands far-reaching reforms in the operation of the economic mechanism and the restructuring and development of the democratic state establishments and sociopolitical institutions. This is the only way to ensure that Poland will be able to meet the challenges of the present and reach the necessary acceleration of the development pace. Only then can the population's growing needs and expectations be met, socialism's position be strengthened, and its attractiveness as a progressive social formation be raised.

The PPR and GDR are actively involved in the development of the East-West political dialogue and the consolidation of the positive trends in international relations, he emphasized. Poland appreciates the GDR's economic and social achievements. We also highly appreciate the GDR's international activities and its efforts for disarmament and the consolidation of peace and international security, he said.

The Polish People's Republic desires a steady, stable development in bilateral relations in all areas, and wants to raise them to a qualitatively higher level and to enrich their substance both in the political and social contacts as well as in economic cooperation and trade. Proceeding from the mutual dependence and shared responsibility for a peaceful future of the world and our continent, he said his country would also like to cooperate with the GDR in deepening the CSCE process, developing the overall all-European cooperation, in the multilateral negotiations on disarmament and military confidence-building with the objective of developing a common European home.

SED Delegation Attends Uruguay Congress

LD0812163188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0907 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Montevideo (ADN)—The 21st Uruguayan Communist Party Congress today started its deliberations in Montevideo. [passage omitted]

The SED delegation is led by Karl Seidel, member of the SED Central Committee.

People's Chamber Holds 7th Session 14 Dec

LD1412215988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0914 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The seventh session of the People's Chamber of the GDR convened this morning in Berlin. [passage omitted]

The session was opened by Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee. Before moving to the agenda, the deputies honored the memory of the late People's Chamber Deputies Werner Felfe and Hans-Joachim Hertwig by rising from their seats.

On point one of the agenda, the People's Chamber elected the deputies Werner Krolikowski and Peter Florin as members of the GDR's Council of State at the suggestion of the SED Central Committee. The suggestion was submitted in writing by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State with the support of all the parliamentary groups. Both took the oath in accordance with Article 68 of the Constitution. The deputies complied with the written motion by the chairman of the Council of Ministers to release Werner Krolikowski as a member of the Council of Ministers.

The debate was opened by Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, as spokesman for the SED group. He said that the seventh session of the SED Central Committee had adopted a position on the basic issues of the present and future as the GDR citizens were looking toward the year 2,000. The 12th Party Congress of the SED was being prepared with the strength and support of the entire people. The increase in performance envisaged in the plan, expressed in the increase in national income, was the basic prerequisite of the tried and tested policy.

Guenter Mittag stated that social security and social progress for working people under socialism had no other source than constantly increasing economic performance. The goals established for this had to be acheived in every area in order to match the calculation of gross national income.

The 1989 National Economic and State Budget Plans were unanimously approved by the deputies of the People's Chamber. Speakers from all groups had previously given their approval in the debate on the laws put before them.

The next items on the agenda were the examination of draft laws on the further fashioning of citizens' legal security: the Law on the Responsibility of and Procedure for the Courts in Reviewing Administrative Decisions; the Law on the Adapting of Regulations on Citizens' Means of Redress and on Laying Down the Responsibility of the Courts for Reviewing Administrative Decisions; the Law on Amending and Augmenting the Criminal Code; the Customs Law; the Law on Combatting Violations of Order, the Criminal Records Law; the Currency Law; the Law on the Protection of Cultural Assets: the Law on the Protection of Air Traffic; the Law on Posts and Telecommunications (Fifth Amendment to the Criminal Code); and the Law on State Pre-Payment to Citizens Injured by Crime; The Pre-Payment of Compensation Law. [passage omitted]

The relevant People's Chamber committees had recommended the adoption of the draft laws to the plenary session.

In conclusion, the People's Chamber dealt with the law on the 24 February 1988 Protocol on Combatting Illegal Acts of Force at Airports which serve international civil aviation, the Law on Augmenting the 23 September 1971 Montreal Convention on Combatting Illegal Actions Against the Safety of Civilian Aviation, the Law on the 10 March 1988 Convention for Combatting Illegal Actions Against the Safety of Maritime Shipping, and the Law on the 10 March 1988 Protocol for Combatting Illegal Acts Against the Safety of Stationary Platforms on the Continental Shelf. The deputies were given written submissions by the Council of Ministers as well as recommendations by the relevant committees. These laws were also passed unanimously.

Under the last item on the agenda, the deputy Peter Florin was elected member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber.

The proceedings were followed from the rostrum by the chairpersons of the bezirk [area] councils, diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR, and numerous journalists from home and abroad.

Draft Budget, Economic Plan Approved

LD1212223388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1642 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin, ADN—The GDR People's Chamber ended discussion on the draft law concerning the national economic plan and the 1989 budget plan as well as seven other draft laws by the committees with a meeting of the Committee for Trade and Supply in Berlin today.

Committee Chairman Werner Jarowinsky, member of the SED Politburo and Central Committee Secretary, said that there have been greater efforts to produce more consumer goods, especially in the last month. As a rule, it was important to strengthen considerably the authority of the supply plan and at the same time to raise discipline and reliability in developing contractual and trade relations. It even more was important to stabilize the everyday supplies which citizens consider to be especially important. Trade organization had to be further improved systematically and shaped with a greater view to customer requirements.

Beforehand, Minister for Trade and Supply Gerhard Briksa and Deputy Finance Minister Uta Nickel explained the draft laws. Minister Briksa said that the National Economy Plan 1989 provided among other things for a further considerable improvement in the supply of products required in the care of children. He praised the achievements in private trade. In 1988 over 1,100 private retailers and hoteliers had received permission to go into business.

The deputies of the People's Chamber Committee voted for the draft laws.

FDGB National Executive Council Meets

Tisch Addresses Meeting

LD1312002888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1648 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin, ADN—The FDGB National Executive Council in Berlin today called for socialist competition next year under the slogan: "Great achievements for the well-being of the people and for peace—Everything for the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Conference—Forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR". Under the leadership of its chairman, Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the National Executive Council discussed at its seventh meeting how a greater growth in performance and a further improvement in working and living conditions will be achieved with the preparation and implementation of the national economy plan for 1989.

Horst Heintze, member of the Presidium and secretary of the National Executive Council, said in a speech that the best work for socialism is the most effective answer to all the challenges of our time. He stressed that the trade unions, with the strength of their more than 9 million members, will do everything in order that the resolutions of the Seventh SED Central Committee meeting should lead to new deeds to strengthen socialism and peace. The 1989 plan encourages further improving the material and cultural standard of living through great performances in science, technology, and production.

In conclusion, Harry Tisch affirmed that the position of the FDGB National Executive Council on the drafting of the national economy plan for 1989 and the resolution on competition reflects trade union responsibility in the further shaping of a developed socialist society in the GDR.

"Everyone should be clear about the fact that, in the long term, our work will be measured as to how we succeed, concerning effective political-ideological work, in enabling and motivating all trade unionists to put their entire strength, their entire knowledge and ability in the service of the successful continuation of our economic and social policies". The speaker said, "we consider our forward movement as a process of far-reaching political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural changes. He referred to the new far-reaching initiatives of the Soviet Union which Mikhail Gorbachev announced to the United Nations General Assembly. The trade unionists of the GDR welcome and support all of these proposals which are proof of the attacking strength of socialist peace policies, he said.

Harry Tisch said that with the comprehensive discussions on the planned tasks for 1989 the FDGB members are expressing how they intend in the future to help to shape all our lives. The 1,349,545 members who expressed an opinion in the planned discussion showed the sense of responsibility of trade unionists. The 628,399 suggestions and proposals are a measure of how constructively and democratically the exchange of experiences developed.

Referring to the human rights comprehensively implemented in socialism, the chairman of the FDGB Executive Council mentioned social achievements such as vacation extensions for older citizens, the largest improvement in pensions next year since the existence of the GDR, as well as the dwelling construction plan.

The National Executive Council accepted a resolution on the organization of competition in 1989 in which the 9.5 million members of the FDGB are called on to direct all initiatives in socialist competition on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR toward improving their own contribution to as high a national income as possible. The objective is to successfully continue the course of the unity of economic and social policies as the heart of the economic structure was announced in the resolution made public Monday.

The best basis for a smooth entry into 1989 is in particular a comprehensive fulfilled plan. The workers are called on to ensure a high level of productivity, effectiveness, and quality at lower costs and with a comprehensive contractual production. The way to that is shown by the SED's economic strategy which is orientated in particular toward the ever more effective connection between science and production and the wide application of key technologies.

The resolution is directed toward the closest of connections between the striving for high performance with further improvement in working and living conditions. In order to accelerate the increase in workers' productivity it is important to make wide application in particular of microelectronics and to guarantee a growth in production through increasing refining. The stable supply to the people of foodstuffs and to industry of raw materials is to be ensured at an increasing level and increasingly at one's own cost.

The resolution announces that the appropriate competition objectives are to be discussed and decided upon in trade union meetings up to 5 January 1989. The results are to be evaluated publicly in the enterprise and working collectives on the occasion of 1 May and on the eve of the GDR's 40th anniversary (7 October) and the best performances will be acknowledged.

Resolution on Socialist Competition

AU1412180888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 88 p 5

["Resolution on the Organization of the Socialist Competition on the 40th Anniversary of the GDR" adopted at the Seventh Session of the FDGB National Executive Council in Berlin on 12 December]

[Text] The founding of the GDR in 1949 was an event of historic and international scope. Under the leadership of the SED, a socialist state was established and developed on German soil for the first time, a socialist state whose policy is respected and appreciated all over the world. Preserving all revolutionary, democratic, and humanist traditions of German history, the worker-peasant power has developed into the socialist fatherland of our people and a reliable member of the socialist community.

The workers class and all working people consider the overall strengthening of the GDR a class duty and a matter of their hearts.

All activities and initiatives are directed at consistently implementing the SED's policy, which is aimed at the welfare of the people and at peace, as decided by the 11th SED Congress. With dedicated work that yields many results it is necessary to pursue the struggle to fulfill the national economic plan and to fulfill all pledges for its purposeful overfulfillment until the last day of 1988. All experiences confirm that a generally fulfilled plan is the best basis for a smooth transition to 1989.

I.

1. Socialist competition is the focal issue of the comprehensive popular movement to prepare the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The trade unions are organizing it in all fields with the slogan "High performances for the benefit of the people and for peace—everything to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress—forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!" in order to successfully continue the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy as the core of the economic strategy. The basic explanations of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the Seventh SED Central Committee Session have provided far-reaching guidelines for this.

What is necessary are great performances per work day for a further growing distributable final product for good supplies to the population, for developing the national economy, and for efficient exports. All initiatives are to be directed at increasing one's own contribution to the highest possible available national income. This requires the safeguarding of high labor productivity, efficiency, and quality with decreasing costs and production that corresponds to the contracts in quantity, ranges, quality, value, and delivery dates. In particular the state plan positions and subcontractor deliveries are to be fulfilled reliably. The way toward this is shown by the economic strategy of the SED, in particular the more and more effective linking of science and production and the broad application of the key technologies, especially of microelectronics.

In the socialist competition the struggle for high performance is to be most closely linked with further improving working and living conditions and with achieving attitudes that live up to the high ideopolitical, moral, and intellectual-cultural demands.

The contents of socialist competition and the pledges in the combines, enterprises, institutions, and all work collectives is determined by all of the 10 focal issues of the economic strategy with a view to the year 2000.

This requires us:

—to link the advantages of socialism even more effectively with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and to reach top-level achievements through great economic effectiveness of science and technology;

—to accelerate the increase of labor productivity and to comprehensively apply the key technologies, particularly in microelectronics, for this purpose;

—to ensure production growth with decreasing costs, reducing unit input of raw materials, other materials, and energy sources through increasing refinement and to thus reduce the proportion of production input in the overall product; —to ensure that production quality generally corresponds to international standards and to promote the initiatives for flawless production;

—to reach a higher level of socialist rationalization and automation through the comprehensive application of key technologies, to strengthen in-house production of rationalization means, and to further improve the working people's working and living conditions in close connection with rationalization;
—to increase labor efficiency, to economically use labor capacity, to utilize the basic assets as much as possible, to ensure a high degree of order, discipline, and security everywhere, and to comprehensively use the Schwedt initiative to gain labor for a high performance increase;
—to use the available investments in particular for the rationalization, modernization, and reconstruction of basic assets, to complete projects on schedule, and to make them economically effective on the planned production increase;
—to supply to the population and to exports—in line with contracts and schedules—more consumer goods in high demand and the 1,000 little things in high quality, great numbers, and with low costs;
—to ensure a continuous and dynamic performance increase and, for this purpose, to bring to bear more effectively the mutual interlacing of science and production, basic and advanced training of the people, and a creative climate throughout the entire social life;
—to deepen intensively expanded reproduction, to ensure it on a lasting basis, and to use the principle of self-financing for a rising performance and efficiency increase for this purpose.

2. The workers of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry are aiming their initiatives at fulfilling and purposefully overfulfilling the targets set for performance, quality, and efficiency in order to ensure—at a rising level and increasingly with their own means—stable supplies of foodstuffs to the population and of raw materials to industry.

For this purpose:
—crop production has to be increased as much as possible, the output per animal is to be raised with the planned livestock and efficient use of fodder, and unit production input is to be reduced;
—in the foodstuffs industry a high degree of raw material refinement for good supplies to the population is to be ensured with rising labor productivity and efficiency;
—quality and efficiency of performances in agricultural technology, in amelioration, and soil cultivation are to be increased;
—scientific-technological progress is to be used with great benefit in all areas and the speed of rationalization is to be accelerated;
—in forestry stable supply with rough timber, the implementation of measures to preserve and protect woods, and the the fulfillment of the tasks in consumer goods production are to be effectively ensured.

3. The working people in trade, public utilities, public transportation, and services are directing their initiatives particularly at making the good results of the SED's economic and social policy better visible for every citizen of our country in daily life. For this purpose, it is particularly necessary

—to make cooperation between production and trade even more effective in the interests of the customers and to further expand direct relations between trade institutions, combines, and enterprises, and to take the goods from the manufacturer to the consumer on the shortest possible route;
—to ensure high productivity, efficiency, and quality of trade, services, and repairs by means of socialist rationalization and to enforce good organization of orders and deliveries, economical transportation and loading and unloading of goods, and efficient stock management;
—to ensure consumer-friendly opening times of shops, restaurants, and service facilities and generally stable ranges of goods on display, to guarantee pleasant service and a good sales atmosphere, and to fulfill the tasks involving supplies to workers and meals for pupils and children with a high standard.

II.

New demanding competition targets for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR are to be discussed and adopted at trade union members' assemblies and shop stewards plenums by 15 January 1989.

In line with the demands of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, the 11th FDGB Congress, and the laws of our socialist state, the responsible state and economic leaders in the combines, enterprises, institutions, and work collectives have to establish all preconditions necessary for the development of the creativity and initiatives of the working people in the socialist competition, in the innovators' movement, in the "GDR 40 FDJ Drive," in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow Movement, in other economic initiatives of the socialist youth association, and in the vocational competition of the apprentices.

The results of the socialist competition are to be publicly accounted for in the enterprise and work collectives on 1 May and on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. The best achievements are to be praised.

SED Greets Interior Minister on Birthday

AU1212163488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Dec 88 p 2

[Greetings message from the SED Central Committee, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Interior Minister Friedrich Dickel on his 75th birthday: "Cordial Congratulations to Comrade Friedrich Dickel"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Friedrich Dickel:

The SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council convey to you most cordial greetings and congratulations on your 75th birthday.

From your early youth on, you have dedicated your life to the struggle for the revolutionary ideals of socialism. At the age of 14 you joined the Communist Youth League of Germany. In 1931 you became a member of Ernst Thaelmann's party. Formed by this, you remained loyal to your oath as a member of the Red Front Fighter's League, to be always and ever a soldier of the revolution and never to forget that the fate of the workers class of the entire world is inextricably linked with the Soviet Union.

You made a great personal contribution in the struggle against fascism and for the victory over the brown barbarism. Your emigration to France and the Netherlands was followed by your combat in the International Brigades in Spain in the unforgotten Thaelmann battalion as a soldier, platoon leader, and company leader of the Interbrigades in 1936.

Your studies in the Soviet Union had an essential influence on your further development. After that, you struggled against fascism in Europe and in the Far East, illegally and risking your life.

After the liberation of our people by the glorious Soviet Union, the party entrusted you with the task of actively participating in organizing the armed protection of the antifascist-democratic changes and of our young republic.

You were a school principal, deputy and chief of the Political Administration of the Garrisoned People's Police, and deputy defense minister. Your name is inseparably linked with the establishment and development of the National People's Army.

Since 1963 you have made an outstanding contribution to the welfare of the people and to the safeguarding of peace as minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

You have an essential share in the fact that our state protects the socialist system and the peaceful life of its citizens at any time, guarantees public order and security under all conditions, and therefore also enjoys great international respect.

As a member of the SED Central Committee and People's Chamber deputy since 1967, you have a great, direct share in working out and implementing the security and legal policy of the party and the state, and in the further perfecting of our socialist democracy. Our party values your dedicated work to implement the policy decided by the 11th SED Congress to safeguard peace and for the welfare of the people.

Your work is characterized by the purposeful leadership of the SED and the close, trusting cooperation with the citizens of our country, the indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist countries, and their protective and security organs. Your principled and, at the same time, comradely guidance and help to the workers militia are greatly respected and appreciated.

You are paying great attention to the task of conveying the revolutionary traditions of the German and international workers class to the young generation. In this spirit you are educating the comrades entrusted to you and are conveying your rich militant experiences to them.

Dear Comrade Friedrich Dickel, your birthday today is an opportunity for us to cordially thank you for your tireless, principled work for peace and socialism, and for your loyalty to the revolutionary cause of our party.

For the future we wish you much success in your responsible work, good health, all the best, and personal well-being.

With socialist greetings,

E. Honecker.

The Council of Ministers and the GDR People's Chamber also congratulate Army General Friedrich Dickel.

[In a 50-word report NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on the same day notes that, at the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers, Erich Honecker awarded the honorary title "Hero of Work" to Minister Dickel]

MSZMP Central Committee Session Held

Berecz Speaks on Domestic Issues

LD1512163688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Report on MSZMP Central Committee meeting 15 December in Budapest by correspondents Andras Domany and Attila Balint, who are not individually identified—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The MSZMP Central Committee session began with a sad announcement. Istvan Tompe, a long-standing Central Committee member died at dawn today. We radio correspondents also knew him well since he had been chairman of Hungarian radio and television and of the State Committee for Radio and Television and, as a pensioner, often stated his opinion on our work. He would have been 80 years old on 2 January. Karoly Grosz, party general secretary, praised the work of the Istvan Tompe.

[Grosz] Comrade Tompe was an outstanding figure in the Hungarian workers' movement. He took part in the Spanish war of independence and fought on the side of the Spanish revolutionary forces. Since 1945, no matter what position our party asked him to hold, he always worked in a disciplined, committed manner and gave the maximum. His death is a great loss to us since in the Central Committee, too, he helped the body's work with his open, outspoken, extremely constructive contributions.

[Correspondent] At first the Central Committee discussed the report on topical political issues submitted by Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee. Referring to the work done since the national party conference in May, Janos Berecz said:

[Berecz] We are constantly preparing our decisionmaking work on every essential party issue in accordance with the plan. From this viewpoint, the following period provides an opportunity for very significant advance. We propose the organization of party debates on several important topics, in accordance with our earlier plans.

According to the original plans, debate can begin in January-February 1989 on the party organization tasks in the workplace and residential areas and on the modification of the party's organizational structure and electoral system. By April, viewpoints will be prepared for the regulations on forming party platforms and party debate. We wish to proceed in accordance with the party's organizational statutes.

I propose that the Central Committee consider conducting these party debates to strengthen our political ability to take initiative. While satisfying presssing demands, not on three different occasions but all at once in the first third of 1989, next year will see several other debates of national importance.

It is a significant political loss for us and is contrary to the spreading openness that the party still gives information on its preparations and intentions, primarily in connection with the Central Committee and Politburo sessions, and less so on its other work.

It is not tenable that we make our ideas public on numerous important issues affecting public opinion, the country's fate, only after these bodies' have made their decisions. With this practice, we can lose our role as initiator.

Our stand appears to be only a reaction to outside initiatives. Yet often in the course of the past year we began, in time, to deal with certain topics, for example with alternative military service, with referendum, and with the reform of the Constitution.

In the period of initiative, we also have to accept the danger of immature thoughts. After taking a stand, we must make a consistent, public representation of it so our positions are strengthened by the debates and so our conduct is put on the offensive. For this reason, we should make public our thoughts on issues related to the development of party (?life) and those on other important political topics that are already being prepared.

[Correspondent] On the economy, the party conference decided that a lasting part of a multisector socialist economy is private property, and foreign working capital must be drawn into our country. Numerous issues must be clarified in connection with property relations, for example, because enterprise councils have proved good at only a small number of state enterprises.

The relationship between the new enterprises, enterprise councils, and the trade unions must be resolved in practice.

[Berecz] In economic policy issues, by the way, ideas are being shaped in accordance with the plan. The Politburo discussed the proposed employment policy, and it will be on the agenda in the first half of next year, coordinated with the strategic elements of economic policy.

Preparatory work is being done to modernize the distribution policy. The issue has been discussed by the economic policy committee and will be put forth at a Politburo session in the first 3 months of (?next) year.

The economic policy committee will discuss in December ideas pertaining to the development of social policy and health affairs and the proposal may be put before the Central Committee in the first half of next year.

To all this, we add the demand we voiced at the Central Committee's session on 1-2 November, according to which the soonest possible development of the social net is a policy issue of undeferrable importance. However we also emphasized that we should create this net on the basis of realities and not under the pressure of public opinion, heated by excess undertakings.

A working committee has been formed to deal with shaping strategic economic policy and is working continuously.

[Correspondent] Janos Berecz spoke about concepts such as socialist values or democratic socialism and asked that the various research workshops and work committees in social sciences help with theoretical clarification. Otherwise, he said, we will suffer the grave consequences that still have impact today of former practices when in important spheres theoretical-scientific research was restricted, debates were omitted, and policy was compelled to take a stand on certain matters without scientific foundations. Now it is necessary to examine numerous issues such as a socialist constitutional state and human rights or the assertion, amidst socialist conditions, of certain results of bourgeois democracy. In connection with this, the keynote speaker noted the new organizations that have come into existence in recent months.

[Berecz] Setting as their target an uplifting of Hungarian society, stepping forward with a demand to break with the Stalinist model, and seeking possibilities for a freer expression of various interests, groups have recently proliferated outside the party that wish to reveal the country's real situation and make alternative proposals.

The quite wide variety of endeavors to seek a way out is a characteristic that makes the shaping of a national solidarity [nemzeti oesszefogas] more complicated.

Trends that are closer to the MSZMP line, that are reserved and distrustful concerning the party, and that suggest nonsocialist solutions are appearing simultaneously. Their coming into existence partly implies criticism of the party, since they have objectively arisen from the situation and are natural concomitants of social development.

These movements represent various weights; their decisive majorities must be regarded as real factors of Hungarian domestic politics. These currents are not yet marked. In general there is no significant political-social force behind most of them. However, in the future they can gain strength and can continue their institutionalization. This can take place on the basis of the Constitution and the law of association and the party law, which is to be instituted.

We also consider it natural that debates are also (?concomitants) of a lively domestic political life, of a developing political culture, although contradiction sometimes is borne with difficulty precisely in the mediums where debate is urged. The party in the necessary cases opposes, with debate, first and foremost views that query, violate, or attack socialism, legality, and international obligations.

Within the party, the Central Committee—and I would draw special attention to this—while urging a further strengthening of the political center, has determined that the party should be capable of dialogue, of creative cooperation, with other progressive, socialist, left-wing, democratic forces of popular-national motivation, and with the churches, on the basis of mutually respected principles.

With this, it wishes to facilitate a realization of the program of national uplifting, with a solidarity of those interested in reform and with the creation of a coalition of forces grouped around socialist progress.

[Correspondent] The new national solidarity assumes in many areas an economic and social policy with its own profile, built on the national interests, said Janos Berecz.

[Berecz] Within the framework of the new national solidarity, it is first and foremost with the stratum of employees, numbering millions, in Hungarian society that we must develop lasting, organic relations. For this renewing and modernizing, institutional conditions are necessary. Among these the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front (PPF), and the Communist Youth League are the most important.

We profess that political democracy cannot be developed and made to function without the PPF; it must be based on cooperation between the progressive forces. For this, it is necessary to make a start on the debates, elucidating whether the PPF should be renewed in its function uniting the entire people or whether it should first and foremost combine into a political alliance the forces and tendencies being organized in our pluralistic political society.

We cannot avoid answering this question, even when clarifying the issue of a one party or multiparty system. The recognition that the new national solidarity cannot come about without the alternative movements is of decisive importance. Taking into consideration the multicolored nature of the alternative movements, in the course of searching for alternative ways out, it is to preserve the particular interests of these organizations that common points must be found that are jointly acceptable to all national interests, so every responsible factor of Hungarian public life, and their movements, can come together.

Developing this cannot be done from one day to the next. But we must start along this road, since it can lead to providing the foundations for participating in the acceptance of political responsibility.

It is obvious that the MSZMP, because of its historical responsibility, is a creative, determining initiator. But it is not the only, exclusive, organizer of this collaboration. The party must ensure this not through political preponderance but with realistic policy.

This solidarity may be given weight from the aspect of the alternative movements, in that they should also be able to participate with each other in the development of the national program, to support it. Just as the MSZMP does not wish to exclude anyone from the process aimed at the new national solidarity, it moreover accepts the possibility of participation in it on the basis of equal rights. It does not consider it acceptable, and will take steps against it, if others behave in a contrary way.

We find the emotionally fuelled accusations, political hate, particularly harmful. It has been a long time since the nation needed as much sober sense as it does today. Our party has proclaimed and wishes to implement its readiness to develop relations with the political organizations at various levels, including a coalition. It openly professes that it does so in the national interests and to renew the socialist social system. We are firmly determined that the power of trust, not the position of power, should determine our political practice and position.

[Correspondent] Regarding the issue of a multiparty system, a contradictory situation has developed, the speaker said. While the May party conference took radical steps toward political pluralism functioning within the framework of a one party system, in the period since the demand for a multiparty system has strengthened. The draft law on association creates this possibility. The party leadership considers that the renewing Marxist party is capable by itself of formulating and integrating the most important political interests of the various social strata. However, led by its political responsibility, it supports society's right to self-organization. Thus, in harmony with the constitution that is to be enacted, a law will be created to regulate the founding of parties. The Central Committee intends to devote in the first quarter of next year a separate session to this topic and is considering bringing nonparty people into its deliberations.

[Berecz] Esteemed Central Committee, it is important that we formulate for ourselves the steps we intend to take in the political period to come, their order and relation to each other. This is presently necessary in the following areas: constitutional approval, the creation of the electoral law, the working out and approval of the law on parties, and how the 14th congress will relate to all this. The party must deal with these questions decisively, rapidly, but not in an overly hurried mannner, without excessive acceleration, because this could lead to muddle.

There is also the possibility that a dangerous, uncontrollable political dynamic could evolve that would be in no one's interest, not that of the MSZMP nor the new political organizations, since it would hinder the solution of the problems, the advance of the reform. For that reason we welcome that several alternative movements, showing politically responsible behavior, have recognized the contradiction that exists in the situation, and their representatives have actually expressed this.

[Correspondent] The principles and even the draft texts connected with the constitution are expected to come before the Central Committee in May-June. However, this will be followed by the social debate.

[Berecz] In the wake of summarizing and analyzing the experiences, taking the necessary modifications into consideration, the Central Committee will once again be able to develop its stance. What is more, it can deal with the question on several occasions if it considers it necessary. The draft can be submitted to the National Assembly in the spring of 1990.

Ideas have emerged that it should be a new National Assembly that votes on the constitution. We do not necessarily regard this as justified. The Constitution, once it is debated and approved by the National Assembly, can be confirmed via referendum. The elections could take place after this.

The creation of the new electoral law could take place before the Constitution is legislated, but it will come before the law on parties. The concept relating to the law, which must be supplemented with the considerations that have emerged since, can be submitted to the Central Committee in the first quarter of 1989. In this draft it will be necessary to draw alternative solutions that deal with the various possibilities: one or two chambers, electoral lists, the creation of coalitions, the presidency, and so on. At the same time it is necessary to indicate dates when we suggest whether the council elections and the National Assembly elections be held together or separately.

In the spirit of the law of association and the electoral law, the new movements will presumably nominate their candidates at these elections. The possibility will arise for new forms of political cooperation and competition to develop at the local level.

As regards the creation of the law on parties, the rate of progress can be kept the same as that we have recommended for the creation of the constitution. This provides scope for these two issues, which cannot be divorced from each other, to become an organic part of our political practice. At the same time, we must also consider the possibility that new organiztions should be able to contest the 1990 elections as well, on the basis of a previously approved law on parties.

[Correspondent] In conclusion, Janos Berecz discussed the role of the next party congress in all these processes.

[Berecz] The holding of the 14th congress should not be timed to adjust to the newly outlined legislative and electoral dates, in the sense that the congress should necessarily precede these. The questions that are involved belong to the sphere of decisionmaking of the supreme organ of popular representation, the National Assembly. The Central Committee standpoints adopted in the meantime adequately influence political work and the direction of political thinking. Since on certain issues it becomes necessary for all party members to be given the opportunity to express their views directly, a party debate or in a given case even a new conference can be held at the appropriate time.

The historic significance of the 14th congress must be created, among other things, by the appearance of a party program built genuinely from below. The congress must be an outstanding event in the development of our political democracy, capable of synthesizing the debates.

[Correspondent] In the debate on the report, several people dealt with the questions of property, pointing out that the common forms of property must more and more evolve to serve social aims but also that every form of property fundamentally serves the interests of the owner. It is now certain that we understand what this battle on two fronts means. Among those taking part in the debate, a good number emphasized that not only left-wing endavors to bring back the old order are being experienced but also right-wing ones. Several campaigns have begun to discredit parliamentary deputies and party workers.

Do we have the right to go beyond the point of view of the party conference? This was asked in connection with the codification preparatory work underway at present, and with the democracy package plan.

The present point of view will not make a principled, political platform, but in some areas it indicates a clearer path to party members, said a few speakers. For example, the social model that is changing is the one whose reserves are really exhausted.

It must be made clear that we are beginning the long-term transitional phase of socialist development. It should also be shown which processes are destabilizing and which groups do not have much to gain from consensus.

Grosz Holds News Conference

LD1512233788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Statement and news conference by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz at the Central Committee Headquarters in Budapest—live]

[Text] [Grosz] First of all forgive us for having kept you waiting. The session went on a little longer than planned. It seems that we are proving to be bad organizers not only in the economy but also in political work.

The Central Committee today discussed three points. It heard a report on a few topical issues of the domestic political situation. It heard a briefing about the newer, so-called second, phase of the government's reorganization. And it decided on personnel issues. It conducted a valuable, lively, colorful debate about the topical issues of public life.

We decided to review the topical issues of the domestic political life regularly, at virtually every session, since Hungarian domestic politics are very colorful, very rich; there are very many questions which preoccupy people. Today we reviewed how far our present practice is in harmony with the political objectives and endeavors determined at the May party conference. We evaluated the situation as follows: The domestic political processes of the period coincide with the major developmental directions considered necessary at the party conference. Such a large-scale transformation of the economic and political system which is taking place in Hungary today can only be realized at disparate [elteroe] tempos and at disparate levels since the systems of conditions for the necessary changes are also disparate.

In spite of this, while we have to consider the differences as given, we are of the view that there is a harmonious unison between the reform processes taking place in the economy and the reform processes taking place in society. I must say that in the Central Committee's debate 26 people spoke in the debate on this point. They related their daily findings, their experiences. On the basis of the lessons drawn from the debate and the report, we can note responsibly that in many essential issues the party already has a settled standpoint, a developed position. Many questions, however, still form the subject of debate.

For this reason, first and foremost in the interest of the further development of party work, the Central Committee has decided that in the interest of the further development of the activity of the workplace and domiciliary party organizations, it will conduct a wide-ranging party debate at the start of next year. Likewise, in a wide-ranging exchange of views it will evolve and shape the theoretical and practical issues connected with platform freedom.

The Central Committee has again formulated that the MSZMP conducts, on a principled basis, open and differentiated politics with the alternative movements. Even earlier we did not debate the alternative movements' right to exist, deriving from reality, and we do not debate it today either. On the other hand we determine our relationship to these movements on the basis first and foremost of their platforms, their programs and their conduct.

We have formulated that the party is ready for dialogue; it wants to cooperate in every issue which helps and serves the unfolding of socialism, which helps the prosperity of the nation. At the same time it takes up debate with those views which question socialism, legality, as well as our international commitments.

In the debate great attention was given to issues connected with property relations since this preoccupies Hungarian public opinion extraordinarily. We again laid down our former principled standpoint that a multisector economy has a right to exist in Hungary, through a long historical phase. We consider state ownership to be fundamental; at the same time we are of the view that one of our most important tasks is to guarantee the much more effective functioning of state property than hitherto. For this we need a better functioning system of interestedness, and we must further develop the independence of enterprises, their freedom of movement.

We wish to also develop the cooperative sector. We are of the view that there too big reserves lie latent. We also have to create calm and security for private ownership, so that, with the appropriate interestedness, they should integrate in the economic processes in the long term.

We devoted great attention to protecting our socialist values as well as to strengthening them.

The debate continues in many partial issues. For this reason the Central Committee has decided that at the beginning of next year it will put these on the agenda once again. Such issues include the participation of other organizations and forces in the exercise of power, or the enriching of the objectivity, colorfulness, of openness [nyilvanossag].

In its entirety, the debate, therefore, was a valuable contribution to the heated [magas heofoku] domestic political activity which characterizes the whole of society and which also permeates party public opinion.

The Central Committee also made decisions on personnel matters. Miklos Nemeth, who was recently elected by the parliament as chairman of the Council of Ministers, has been relieved from his post as Central Committee secretary. Also, with recognition of his merits, at his own request because of his retirement, it has relieved Lenard Pal from his post as Central Committee secretary.

The Central Committee a few minutes ago, elected Pal Ivanyi as its secretary; he is presently chairman of the Budapest Council.

Permit me to briefly introduce him. He was born in 1942 in Budapest, his original occupation is mechanical engineering. He has been a member of the party since 1969. He is married with two children. He has been a member of the Central Committee since 1987, and of the Politburo since 1988.

The Central Committee also decided, in recognition of her merits and due to her retirement, to relieve Valeria Benke from her post as chairman of the TARSADALMI SZEMLE Editorial Board. In her place, the Central Committee appointed Katalin Radics, who at the same time is relieved from her post as director of the Central Committee Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs Department.

Also with recognition of his merits and because of his retirement, Peter Varga was relieved as head of the Central Committee [Public Administration and Administration] department.

Besides this, the Central Committee was also given information about other different personnel matters within its sphere of authority.

Thank you for your attention, we stand at your disposal.

[Unidentified Reporter] Dear listeners, this is a news conference and Karoly Grosz is about to answer questions from representatives of the foreign and domestic media. The news conference is led by Laszlo Major, and spokesman of the party Central Committee. Let us listen:

[Kerekes] This is Andras Kerekes of Hungarian radio. You spoke several times recently about your ideas concerning a new type of consensus, cooperation, one might even say a new type of policy of alliance. This appeared only in a loose form in your speech at the sports hall but was given more definite shape in your speech at the County Csongrad party conference. This idea is that a new type of coalition is involved and—as was mentioned in today's debate as well—a Hungarian left of center formula. Could you tell us in more detail the meaning within this formula of left of center and where the dividing line is between left of center and right of center.

[Grosz] If I could be as sure of winning on the lotto as I was that this question would be asked today, I would gamble. The question is justified, of course. I see the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party as occupying the left; somewhat towards the center there are all those who accept the platform of socialism but who want to implement the building of socialism either not on the basis of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism or not with the methods developed by us. Naturally, for the building of socialism there is no need for ideological unity. This is not a new idea; after all, it was one of the pillars of our policy of alliance in the past decades that people with different outlooks could participate actively in the development of the homeland and in the building of socialism.

We consider that the boundary of this left of center can be drawn somwhere at the acceptance of the socialist program. You have referred to my speech in Csongrad; there I spoke in great detail about permitting myself the courage to assume that even some of those to the right of center will be willing to cooperate with us on certain issues, and we, too, are willing to work with them. Society—Hungarian society as well—is full of tasks in which even those who have not sworn to socialism can find their interests.

There are also questions which go beyond and point beyond the borders of our homeland. I am sure that on these questions as well there will be those who are willing to come with us and we accept partnership with them. I am thinking here first and foremost of the preservation and protection of universal human values; I am thinking of peace, the movements for the protection of the environment, of all those endeavors which, irrespective of political outlook and ideology, influence the future of humanity and where it is possible to act in the interests of humanity.

The question whether it is possible to evaluate today the proportions of these forces is, of course, justified. Hungarian society is in movement and there are extremely rapid changes in it. I believe it would be reckless to undertake to estimate this. Life will answer this as we go along. However, it is not the magnitude that is important here but the very clear organizing principle on the basis of which we would like to widen our cooperation in the future. Thank you.

[Unidentified reporter] Dear listeners, the news conference continues.

More on Grosz' News Conference

LD1612002988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2112 GMT 15 Dec 88

[News Conference by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz at the Central Committee Headquarters in Budapest on 15 December—recorded;]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Rangos] Katalin Rangos, Hungarian Television Newsreel. On the basis of today's debate, in connection with the estimation of a multiparty system, were strongly marked differences of views noted?

[Grosz] Well, strongly marked differences of views could indeed be noted, less in the issue of a multiparty system. The strongly marked differences of views were formulated not first and foremost on the issue of the multiparty system. On the other hand, I dare not say that there were no differences of views in respect to the multiparty system. However, I do not consider this as strongly marked. There was a difference of views first and foremost in that which today also preoccupies the whole of party public opinion and perhaps a proportion of those outside the party, which is the question of how our decision at the May party conference that we in Hungary imagine the building of socialism amid the conditions of a one-party system should be interpreted. At the same time, however, we are working on laws which—first and foremost the law relating to parties—make the functioning of a multiparty system possible in principle. There is no contradiction between these. According to our conception, there is none. There is none, because a legal condition which for the moment is unsettled [egy pillanatnyilag rendezetlen jogviszony] cannot be considered permanent.

When we say that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party imagines the building of socialism amid the conditions of a one-party system, then the party is formulating its own standpoint. This, however, does not preclude opinions diverging from this standpoint. For this very reason, from a very practical consideration, we believe that the upholding of the one-party system, or the creation of a multiparty system, is not a principled or ideological question, because socialism is being built today in very many socialist countries of the world amid the conditions of a multiparty system and we do not have the right to say that for that reason it is not socialism that is being built there. There are many countries in the world where there is one party and even so socialism is being built successfully. Therefore, it is not the number of parties that determines the effectivenes of the work, but the content and quality of the policies. Perhaps it is not realistic to formulate the demand that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party should organize other parties.

[First unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] The speech given by Comrade Grosz at the Budapest Party activ drew a rather great reaction from those who like to concern themselves with politics. My question is, how does the general secretary feel, evaluate the effect of this speech; how did the members of the body evaluate it in today's debate?

[Grosz] I am extremely glad that my speech on 29 November in the Sports Hall drew a reaction. This is why I went there. If it had not drawn a reaction, then it would have been completely unnecessary to invite 10,000 activists there, as well as for me to have spent 2 hours together with them. I only want to point out that when I went I already knew that it would draw a reaction. I could not, of course, evaluate in what magnitude, how many people would agree with me, and how many would disagree with me. So, the fact that my speech gave cause for debate is something I consciously undertook.

On the basis of information which I have received, the opinions voiced at the various party conferences and the opinions formulated at today's Central Committee session, I can say with all tranquillity that there are more people who agreed with my speech then those who disagreed. I did not meet with people who disagreed with the whole of the speech. I met with more people who disagreed with one or other of the wordings in the speech. Interestingly, I also noticed that people hear and read selectively. Most people just took out one or other expression from the speech. I must also say that on later reflection, and reading the speech calmly in the study, I regret one wording. I will tell you, because you will probably ask. In connection with work, I used the wording that in the process of work, a dictatorial style of leadership is necessary. Well, the fact that the speech was given from a draft is no excuse even for a politician for such a gaffe. But this happened to me, as a matter of fact, on the spur of the moment I did not find a better word to express my conception rejecting the democracy of the process of production. Maybe if I had written down my speech and not given it from a draft, I would have found the terminology for it; I want to say that I have found it since then. I will not say what, because somebody might use it.

Regarding those parts of the speech which, for example, concern the expression white terror, about which many people argued and believed that this was scaring the people, I must say that this is unchangingly my opinion; it has not changed. I did not want to draw attention to anything other than the fact that anarchy, disorder, and reform are not necessarily elements which belong together. Reform can also be implemented in order. What is more, it is my belief that this is the only way reform can be realized. If anarchy becomes dominant, there is no political force which can keep it in check, and its conclusion is unforseeable.

The members of the FIDESZ [Federation of Democratic Youth] asked me why I had to speak in this style. Similarly, I met a KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] group which protested in a letter. I told them—and I am telling you now, too—that if one notices that if one says something quietly and it is not heard then it is a natural reflex thta next time he will speak more loudly.

[Second unidentified correspondent] The REUTERS correspondent asked whether a decision had been made regarding whether it is a new constitution which is going to be prepared or is it a reform of the Constitution. He was also interested to know whether it was going to be possible for more than one party to participate in the elections.

[Grosz] In our judgement, there is a need for a new constitution instead of a reformed constitution; the works have proved this. In our judgment, the parliament will have to adopt the new constitution at the beginning or middle of 1990. The reason why I had put it this way is because we must submit the draft constitution to a social debate and it is impossible to tell how many comments and what kind of proposals will arrive, what kind of support the basic document will receive. According to our present perception, if the parliament accepts the constitution then this constitution will have to be sanctified by a popular referendum. In other words, we subject it to a double control. First, in the preparatory stage, every citizen, every social group, and political movement will be enabled by us to express their views and their proposals, then—in two readings more than likely, if the parliament debates it and adopts it—via a popular referendum, in addition, as we ask for the citizens, stamp of approval. Regarding the question whether one or more parties should be able to take part in the election, it is not for me but for parliament to decide. However, no great mind is needed to draw the conclusion about my stand, because earlier on I expounded my views about one-party and multiparty systems. The MSZMP perceives even within one-party-system relations a guarantee that, in addition to a social control, can responsibly provide a program for the country for its rise. But if the country's public opinion, the residents, see the guarantee not in one party but in several parties then we have no objection to this whatsoever.

[Correspondent] My Italian colleague was wondering whether it was possible to have a political reform in a period of economic crisis.

[Grosz] It is possible, but it is dangerous.

[Correspondent] An Austrian correspondent enquired whether a decision was made in the Central Committee on further reorganizations or changes in the body.

[Grosz] We did not make such a decision at this session. We did do this at the last Central Committee session. Then, we resolved to abolish the administration department and we decided that we will organize the scientific, cultural, public education, and propaganda areas in one department, as social policy department. Earlier we decided that four work committees and four work communities were to work alongside the Central Committee. In addition to this, today we adopted, in accordance with the resolution previusly adopted, the proposal relating to the members of the Advisory Committee of the Central Committee. This time we decided on personnel instead of organizational issues.

[Karacs] Imre Karacs, THE INDEPENDENT. Mr Grosz mentioned the expression, right-wing disorder. I want to ask first of all whether the signs of this manifest themselves in the internal party organs. My second question concerns the party's view regarding the fact that certain members are joining expressly leftist groupings, such as the Ferenc Muennich Society or the MKP [Hungarian Communist Party] [as heard].

[Grosz] I have not observed right-wing disorder in the party's leading bodies and orans. I would be grateful if you were to share your experiences in this respect with me; it would help me to orientate myself.

I know of left-wing groupings. There are such movements, but this is not the Ferenc Muennich Society. Earlier on I said that in my view it is the party that is on the left. The Ferenc Muennich Society is there, beside it. There is, however, an extreme left wing as well, here and there. Our principled position is unchanged, the same as before; we do not regard cooperation with the extreme left as desirable, because in our judgment it represents a mentality and endeavor which Hungarian practice has already transcended.

At the same time, I want to say quite clearly that for the moment we are still in the dark as regards the extreme left wing, because apart from a few scattered remarks we have not seen a program, a united stand. Thus, the basic party position that we will determine in our relations with every political organization—grouping—which differs, to the right or to the left, from our policy on the basis of their program and conduct, is true in this case as well. Thank you.

FRG's Genscher Holds News Conference, Departs

LD1512220688 Budapest MTI in English
1906 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 15 (MTI)—The Federal Republic of Germany has an interest in the continuation of the Hungarian reform process in the spirit of consensus, with the maintenance of stablity towards creating plurality, it was stated by FRG's vice-chancellor and foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, at the press conference he gave on Thursday [15 December] on conclusion of his one- and-a-half-day visit to Budapest.

On Wednesday, Herr Genscher conferred with Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, and met Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Matyas Szuros, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly. On Thursday morning he had a working breakfast with Mr Varkonyi, and then met leaders of the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Germans. Geza Hambuch, general secretary of the Federation, told MTI that Herr Genscher had assured representatives of Hungarian Germans of FRG's continued support for their activity serving the preservation of national identity. The fostering of direct human relations, primarily amongst young people, has an outstanding importance in bilateral cultural cooperation, he said, adding that both countries encourage the expansion of opportunities for meetings by young Hungarians and West Germans and the broadening of cooperation.

On Thursday morning, Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences conferred an honorary doctorate on Herr Genscher. Addressing the gathering, Tamas Foldesi, dean of the faculty of political and legal sciences, spoke about the major contribution Herr Genscher had made to promoting international cooperation and the observance of human rights.

In his reply, Herr Genscher pointed out that the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany was aimed at creating an order of European peace from the Atlantic to the Urals that will enable the peoples of the continent to co-exist amidst peaceful competition. In connection with the particular importance of culture in the processes of democratization, and the demand of making cultural exchange the basis of European peace policy, Herr Genscher offered a scholarship from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, which he proposed to call the Bolyai-Gauss Scholarship, to a young representative of social sciences for a year.

Herr Genscher told the news conference that during his talks in Budapest, held 15 years after the establishment of diplomatic relations, he could truly say that relations between Hungary and the FRG were a good example of cooperation between the two countries with different social sytems and alliance commitments.

One of the central themes of the discussions was the future development of the European Communities and its effect on East-West relations. The two countries are equally interested in the fair progress of links between the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The creation of a single European market is expected to release forces useful for both the member countries and East-West relations. Hungary was quick to realize the advantages inherent in ties with the Common Market, Herr Genscher said.

He made it clear that the expansion of opportunities for cooperation depends on the headway made by political, social and economic reforms on Hungary. In this context, he praised the Hungarian leaders for not painting too rosy a picture, which indicates the serious and firm nature of reform intentions. The FRG is interested in the success of these reforms, and will provide regular information on the development processes in the Common Market in the form of foreign affairs consultations. Asked about the compulsory visa system, Herr Genscher pointed out that Bonn would be ready to move even further than the easing of visa regulations, but first it still has to coax a number of reluctant EEC countries.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher described 1988 as a favourable year for detente which serves as a background for cooperation. He attached particular importance to the recent announcement of Mikhail Gorbachev on the unilateral Soviet troop reduction.

He had an unscheduled meeting with Miklos Barabas, general secretary of the Hungarian Peace Council, who outlined the plan of building a house of Europe for various events in Budapest. MTI's correspondent has learnt that Herr Genscher approved the idea.

On Thursday, Herr Genscher and his entourage left Budapest.

Austria-Hungary Symposium Meets

AU1512115988 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 13 Dec 88 p 4

[Article signed "J.Gy.": Where Is Central Europe?—Notes an International Conference"]

[Text] Where is central Europe? Is there such a thing as central Europe at all? Where is Europe? Or more exactly: Where are the boundaries of this Europe, and who are within and who are outside these boundaries? These questions often arose—and, of course, not for the first time—during the 2-day international conference organized by the Vienna-based Collegium Mitteleuropa, the Austrian Cultural Institute in Budapest, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences last week. The participants came from several countries, but they had a common feature: some sort of central European commitment, which has often been questioned nowadays.

For example, Dr Viktor Meier is a Swiss national and he learned in his country that Switzerland is the center of Europe, and thus, the federation of Swiss cantons is central Europe. He then moved to Austria where he heard that central Europe is in fact the old Austria, the colorful agglomeration of states stretching from Bregenz to Chernovits and from Trieste to Silesia and forged together by the Habsburgs over centuries with more or less success. Viktor Meier then became a leading staff member of the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG and there he met with the opinion according to which central Europe, that is Mitteleuropa, is nothing else but Germany and its sphere of influence.... What, then is, the truth?

Most of the participants came from the two countries whose population are still slightly confused about this area. In the course of their history, the Hungarians often had to face dangers that threatened their mere existence, and it was also questionable whether the Hungarians would, and could, remain in the sphere of the Christian culture to which our state-founding King linked the fate of our nation. The Austrians' situation is even more complex, as they were perhaps the least successful in becoming a nation in Europe, precisely at a time when the nation, as a fundamental unity, seemed to become questionable. In addition, there are quite a few people who deny the existence of this nation by claiming that the Austrians are bound to the German nation by thousands of links, the German nation whose two sides are now separated by insurmountable walls and worlds. The leading nation of a former great power, the Habsburg Empire (one could say: the minority nation that founded the Empire) took many decades to somehow come to terms with the fact that they are living in one of the smallest national states in Europe, and are now facing a new dilemma: whether to join a larger economic and political unity, the united Western Europe that calls itself Europe. Austria would thus represent the Eastern border of this united Western Europe. This country, which for so long has accepted the great role of liaison and connection in central Europe with pride and commitment would overnight not only enjoy the advantages of a larger integration but would also find itself on the borderland of a broken Europe and blinking through a new type of economic "iron curtain" at its former "cousins" and brothers....

Obviously, this alternative is causing a considerable debate, and in addition, for the first time in its history, a decision does not depend entirely on Austria. We, Hungarians, are also watching developments with some concern, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay said, and then pointed out that, whatever direction the fate of our neighbor Austria takes, we can only hope that this country will represent a gateway, and not a dividing wall, between Hungary and (Western) Europe. Pozsgay's colleague, Heinrich Neisser, minister of the Austrian Chancellery for Federalism and Administrative Reform, quickly tried to allay Pozsgay's fears by stressing the continuity of historical traditions which—like Austria's central European commitment or its voluntarily declared permanent neutrality—can only lead to an increase in Austria's linking role, and the Danube, as the great symbol of integration in this area, cannot lose its symbol of cooperation.

Central Europe again has real political chances, Zdenek Mlynar, the Vienna-based historian and political scientist and guest of honor of the symposium, summed up his view . These chances derive from the favorable global policy developments. However, Zdenek Mlynar warned against wishful thinking. Many people might think that central Europe has lost its importance in today's Europe divided into two blocks following World War II, and that central Europe might still be, at most, a vanishing cultural memory. However, central Europe does exist in reality, particularly in the area of political culture, and the exemplary Hungarian-Austrian relations provide precisely the best example of this. Zdenek Mlynar mentioned, first, the mutual readiness for tolerance, readiness for compromise, and rejection of aggressive solutions to problems; second, the community of being constitutional states that have after all developed, or are in the course of developing in both countries, despite the authoritarian historical traditions; and, finally, the identity of civilizationary [civilizatorikus] principles and ideals, and the efforts made by responsible statesmen and citizens in both countries to implement them.

Of course, it is difficult to get rid of the often serious heritage of history, and we can easily harbor illusions in this struggle; although they are not unlimited, it up to us how we make use of our opportunities, Zdenek Mlynar concluded.

Quite a few participants also gave voice to their scepticism. Paris-based Professor Antonin Liehm pointed out that the real problem lies in the fact that the countries in central Europe belong to different markets, and this is a greater problem than we think. Emil Brix from Vienna actually provoked the participants (particularly the Hungarians) when he talked about the need to do away with ingrained cliches like the continuous use of the linking role played by the Danube. These represent nothing more than empty declarations without any real substance.

It is not enough to cherish myths. In addition to emotions, there is a need for substantial cooperation for a community to develop, and, in Emil Brix' views, the opportunities for such a cooperation have been weakening, rather than strengthening, nowadays, and, for the time being, this is an inevitable trend....

There were, of course, also more optimistic remarks at the conference. Professor Gyorgy Sebestyen, the newly elected chairman of the Austrian PEN Club, summed up the dialectics of neighborhood in five points, and lectured with his usual elegance about the essence of the contacts that serve the basic interests of the Austrian and Hungarian peoples. Moric Csaky, Peter Hanak, Arnold Suppan, and Ferenc Glatz analyzed the changes in and theoretical aspects of the historical community and neighborhood image. Wolfgang Grassl approached the subject through the development of tourism and analyzed the situation since the age of adventure to today's mass tourism. Several lecturers outlined the present situation of Austrian-Hungarian relations, like Marton Tardos describing the economic aspects; Andras Szennay, the religious aspect; Karl Stipsicz, the new ORF correspondent in Budapest, the mass media aspect. The lecture by Professor Antal Festetics of Vienna, who described the problems of environmental and nature protection, received the greatest attention at the symposium. He said that we were 10 minutes after the 24th hour concerning this issue, and dealt separately with the idea of establishing a joint national park between Hainburg and Bos which would preserve the values of the Danube area. The creation of such an international national park would cost 400 million shillings, which amounts to the price of half a Draken fighter interceptor recently deployed by the Austrian Air Force.

Neighbors in different social systems—a European model? This was the title of the concluding session of this symposium dealing with neighborhood problems. Of course, we cannot expect clear-cut answers from a single conference. However, the 2-day conference contributed to the further analysis and joint analysis of the problems, as well as to strengthening the sense of community, or, if you like, a sense of central European community.

Walesa Cited on Approach to Roundtable

LD1512204688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Dec 88

[No video available]

[Text] Another press conference has been held by Lech Walesa in Gdansk. He also replied to questions put by Polish Television. Here is a part of the conference:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] At your last press conference, before your departure to France, in answer to my question about whether it would be worthwhile to forgo precondiions at the round table, as it was before the discussion with Mr Miodowicz, you said that the round table is a more important issue than the meeting with Mr Miodowicz, and that it would be worth consideration—the important thing is the declaration of intent.

At his last press conference, the government spokesman expressed the view, which I quote: I have always said that we are ready to consider the future model of the trade union movement in Poland, and that the model will be pluralistic one in accordance with the law of 1982. In view of the statement by the government spokesman, do you not think that it should be accepted as a declaration of intent, and attend the round table talks without preconditions?

[Walesa] I must say that we are about to dot the I's and cross the T's but not quite. I think that we will do that before the next conference. There will be our statement, a serious one. As you know, I had no time to even talk to all that I wished, nevertheless my feeling is similar to yours. This will be a far-reaching fulfillment of our wishes or our requests, but just how much, I will try to confirm so that it cannot be said that it was Walesa once again without the agreement of the rest, who are not in tune with him. I will try to get my colleagues to confirm the remark you quoted—we are to meet soon to make a decision on the subject. [end recording]

Walesa: With Pluralism Solidarity To Aid Reform

AU1512202888 Paris AFP in English 1953 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Dec 15 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said here on Thursday that the banned trade union would contribute to Polish reforms if union pluralism was restored.

Mr. Walesa told journalists in a news conference at this Baltic Solidarity stronghold, that his movement did not threaten the government and was "not seeking to seize power, take the place of the government or make decisions in its place."

Solidarity wished "to contribute to the success of reforms leading to the restoration of trade union pluralism, democracy and freedom" and to do so "by peaceful means", Mr. Walesa said.

However he warned that the authorities had to solve the "burning problems" of young people in Poland. "Young people are hungry for a better life. Their future is blocked. Their despair is the result of the bad way the country is run. Action must be taken soon, otherwise things will get out of hand."

He said his recent visit to France to attend ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, improved Solidarity's standing at home and abroad.

Emigre Article on Radio Free Europe Examined

LD0912213188 Warsaw PAP in English 1550 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—The 24th edition of "ZESZYTY LITERACKIE" (LITERARY FASCICLES) an emigre periodical published in the West, carries Wojciech Karpinski's text titled "Voice From an English Garden," being a review of two-volume memoirs of Jan Nowak, former many years' director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe. Here are some selected quotations.

Karpinski writes: "Created by American bureaucracy and entangled in its mechanisms, remaining under American control, broadcasting for American money, it (RFE Polish section-ed.) is a Polish voice and serves Polish interests."

"Since the defeat of the Hungarian uprising Americans from time to time have tried to totally neutralize the radio station politically... Nowak and his team insisted on being recognized as partners, and not as executors of orders."

"For the public RFE belongs to a different category than the BBC, Voice of America or RFI [Radio France International]. It is difficult to give a precise definition of this difference but it decides about the power of RFE and will persist for as long as m-a-r-g-i-n-a-l [preceding word published in wide space] independence from American authorities is maintained."

Let us only remark that Karpinski knows what he says because, as he himself admits, he has been a faithful listener of RFE or over 30 years now. His panegyric of RFE was aired by the radio station last Dec. 6.

Radio Free Europe's 'Provocations' Criticized

LD1412034588 Warsaw PAP in English 2129 GMT 13 Dec 88

["Radio Free Europe's Provocations"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—On December 9 Radio Free Europe broadcast in its information bulletin another dispatch from Gdansk prepared in its typical style. Having put on a gown of a defender of human rights, its author, Krzysztof Dowgiallo, violently attacked Polish forces of law and order and accused them of brutality and deliberate actions—allegedly according to the authorities' directives—to the detriment of citizens.

For Radio Free Europe, the behaviour of forces of law and order in Gdansk on December 16 and 17 is to be the measure of the authorities' present attitude towards the opposition. As these are the days when opposition extremists and political adventurists plan to stage manifestations in the coastal region. As usual, they have spread the information on their plans via Radio Free Europe. Thus one can expect that according to the already known scenario, groups of irresponsible teenagers will insult militia, that stones will be thrown and that glass will be broken.

Therefore, the scenario of the provocation is always the same, and the real intentions of its organizers are self-evident. To materialize their political goals they will do everything to disturb public order and to impede agreement. They maintain at the same time that the course of ceremonies to mark the events from before 18 and 7 years will depend on the authorities' attitude.

Official Visits Gdansk Shipyard Workers

LD1512233288 Warsaw PAP in English
2129 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Gdansk, Dec. 15—On another visit to the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk the government plenipotentiary for employment and the social conditions of crews of work establishments under liquidation agreed with the local trade union and shipyard management [on] the issue of securing work for all the dismissed ship builders and guaranteeing them wages equalling the current ones. The sides also discussed the possibility of re-training the shipyard personnel.

Also, agreement was reached as concerns the thousands-strong group of shipyard pensioners and covering them with trade union care, financially assisted from the state budget. This will permit the pensioners to maintain the hitherto level of social benefits.

The so-called mid-year bonuses, however, remain an open issue. Explaining the intentions of the government Vice-Minister Janina Krol said they would not like to see employees of a liquidated enterprise in a better financial situation than those employed in prosperous plants.

The next meeting between the government plenipotentiary and representatives of the shipyard's crew is to take placve at the OPZZ All-Poland Trade Union Alliance Headquarters.

Government Official on Redundant Workers

AU1312181388 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
8 Dec 88 p 1

[Interview with Janina Wieslawa Krol, government plenipotentiary for redundant work forces, by B. Papiernik: "Help for the Workers of Liquidated Enterprises"—date and place not given]

[Text] Observing the rules of healthy economic management, including the closure of inefficient enterprises, has been the new government's guideline from the very beginning. A government plenipotentiary in charge of the work forces of liquidated enterprises was appointed on 19 November. RZECZPOSPOLITA asked Minister Janina Wieslawa Krol, who occupies this function, to present the first tasks in this sphere.

[Krol] A reconnaissance of the situation provided the basis of our plan of action for December and January. We carried out such a reconnaissance at the Lenin shipyard and Siechnice steelworks. There were talks with representatives of the management, trade unions, and all the social structures in the plants.

Let me remind you of the government plenipotentiary's role in these cases. Acting in concert with the trade unions, he has to mollify the social consequences of every decision to close an enterprise, decisions that are essential from an economic point of view. The point is to "absorb" the shock these decisions may have on the workers. Two subjects are most important—help in finding new employment; and retraining those workers who wish to or are compelled to be retrained. Here we apply the principle that people who are capable of working should remain vocationally active.

Although closing inefficient enterprises is nothing new in the world, it is a complete novelty in Poland, in the socialist countries, and in our political conditions, and so we have no ready patterns of conduct. Therefore, we have to work out these patterns, not on the basis of emotions, but on the basis of rational principles. The experience we gain following the first closures will stand us in good stead when establishing suitable systemic solutions.

Generally, I do not foresee any difficulties in finding new jobs for the workers in the enterprises that are affected. Nevertheless, matters like these are naturally difficult, because they involve the most vital human interests. A vacant post does not necessarily mean that a specialist in a particular field can fill it. Certainly, people with great seniority, people who are ill, or those no longer in the prime of life deserve special assistance.

Everyone faced with a new place of work, and sometimes a new profession, needs to be considered on an individual basis, and this will be done. The views of the trade unions and government on this matter are convergent. Our work schedule foresees that the government plenipotentiary or his deputies will be on continuous duty in the closed enterprises or at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy.

In the ministry, duty hours will be 1000-1800 every Tuesday, in room 510; in the Lenin shipyard, every Wednesday; and in the Siechnice steelworks, every other Thursday.

We are acting in close concert with the trade unions. The OPZZ has presented its demands to the government. A special government-trade union team has been appointed, charged with affording legal and economic protection to the work forces of the closed enterprises. On the OPZZ side, the chairman of this committee is OPZZ Deputy Chairman Waclaw Martyniuk; on the government side, the chairman is the government plenipotentiary. The team's first meeting is next Friday. The intentions of the government and of the trade unions are the same. There are no differences between us.

There is a common aim and a common desire to keep the social effects of closing down these workplaces to a minimum. However, in our contacts with the trade unions, we want to employ dialogue as a way of reaching a joint stance. So I am convinced that the team will reach its decisions on the basis of healthy compromise.

Justice Official Speaks on Human Rights

AU1312142688 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Dec 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jan Brol, deputy minister of justice, by Maciej Urbanik: "This Process Is Continuing"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Urbanik] On 10 December 1948, 40 years ago, the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Anniversaries are always a good opportunity for reflection.

[Brol] It is probably not very original to say that I consider this declaration to be the cornerstone of the international protection of human rights. The source of this declaration was the tragedy of World War II, when all the most fundamental rights of the individual were stepped upon. Thus, the declaration embodies the principle that observing human rights is the best way, in fact the only way, to safeguard the right to live in peace.

The declaration is not an international agreement, and is not legally binding on any state. Nevertheless, because of the weight of its contents, it has become a standard of moral conduct to which countries and their governments should aspire. It provided the basis of work on the International Pact on Civic and Political Rights and the International Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights Pact (their joint name is the Human Rights Pact), international agreements which the Assembly adopted in 1966.

Pacts are not the only international agreements whose source lies in declarations. For example, many ILO conventions arose out of declarations, together with the recently adopted convention on banning torture (which is in the final stage of ratification by Poland), a convention on the political rights of women, and many others. Right now the United Nations is working on a convention of children's rights, about which the press has written very much. In 1985, the Seventh UN Congress, dealing with crime prevention, adopted fundamental principles concerning the impartiality of courts, and these principles also stem from the Declaration on Human Rights.

[Urbanik] How is Poland implementing international documents on the protection of human rights?

[Brol] Basically, our legislation is geared to the constitutional principle whereby the PPR consolidates and expands civic rights and liberties. At the same time, ever since these pacts were adopted, there has been a process of consolidating and expanding in Polish legislation the international standards set by these pacts. Poland ratified the pacts in 1977, and since then we have been formally committed to their provisions.

[Urbanik] However, not even the most progressive declarations are enough. They have to be implemented on a daily basis.

[Brol] True. Apart from knowing the contents of international documents, it is also important to implement them in practice. In particular, it is important that the citizens themselves know what their rights and liberties are, as well as the limits thereof. There also have to be guarantees that state bodies and institutions will observe them.

The first topic closely involves the shaping of society's legal knowledge and culture, something which is highly appreciated in Poland. As far as the second topic is concerned, the most important matter are the courts, their impartiality, and their scope. It is generally held that the broader a person's possibilities of complaining to a court that his rights and liberties have been violated, the better the guarantees that they will be respected.

[Urbanik] Is the situation in Poland really like that?

[Brol] Yes. The 1980's have seen an unprecedented rise in the significance of courts and an increase in their scope. We now have a Supreme Administrative Court, which checks the legality of most administrative decisions. Its scope is now being expanded, in accordance with the resolution of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Resolution. The Constitutional Tribunal was also set up recently. The scope of general courts has also increased during the past 8 years. One example of this is their power to register trade unions. The future associations act will also enable courts to register new associations and see whether their activity conforms to their statute and the law of the land.

In the light of these constantly expanding tasks, the most important problem today is to guarantee the courts' proper working conditions, in order to prevent the fluctuation of judicial cadres, among other things.

The court protection of civic rights and liberties is not the only institutional guarantee. Related tasks are being performed by the prosecutor's office, and, as of 1 January 1988, the civic ombudsman.

[Urbanik] Does that mean we have already done everything possible in the sphere of human rights?

[Brol] Of course not. Poland is not the only country that has not yet exhausted all possibilities. After all, the implementation of human rights is not something static. It is a continuous process of expanding or narrowing the limits of these rights, which are very loosely defined in pacts and declarations. In Poland we have made major progress concerning freedom of speech and freedom of information, thanks to the new act on controlling publications and shows, plus the press act. The associations act will provide new liberties concerning the freedom of speech.

[Urbanik] And how does the world view our efforts?

[Brol] This question is best answered by the 1987 talks by the Human Rights Committee on the subject of a report presented by the PPR Government. The Committee said that generally, civic rights and liberties are respected in Poland. That does not mean there were no doubts about individual matters. There were, but we entertain our own doubts. That is why we are amending the penal code, among other things. Then the doubts that brought about the amendments will disappear. As far as the implementation of human rights is concerned, one cannot be completely satisfied.

Sejm Approves Bill on Planning Office

LD0912142288 Warsaw PAP in English
0020 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 8—The establishment of the Central Planning office signifies a return to the traditional name from 40 years back, but above all a return to a multi-sector economy, steered by indirect methods. Such is the opinion of Vice Premier Ireneusz Sekula who addressed the meeting of the Sejm committees for economic plan, budget and finances and for legislative work, justifying in the name of the government the bill on setting up the Central Planning Office which was tabled to the Sejm. The bill signifies the dissolution of the hitherto Government Planning Commission.

The vice premier stressed that a thorough transformation of the principles of operation, methods, and style of work of the planning body was the main premise and goal of this act. The Central Planning Office will be relieved of day-to-day planning functions and will zero in on strategic problems of economic development, he said.

The dilemma between plan and market is a false one, Sekula said, adding that plans should deal with decisions on strategic issues, such as ways of checking inflation, the economic structure or directions of scientific-technical progress. The market on the other hand, will determine the current distribution of resources, the vice premier pointed out.

New Appointments Made to Council of Ministers

LD0912234388 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] There have been organizational changes at the office of the Council of Ministers. The premier has recalled five, and appointed four persons to responsible posts. Zbigniew Borawski and Aleksander Borowicz have become new undersecretaries of state.

Jastrzebski Assesses Economic Situation

AU1312135388 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT
in German 13 Dec 88 p 10

["jjm" report: "Jastrzebski Expects Wave of New Companies"]

[Text] Ottawa—Poland's self-assured minister for foreign economic cooperation, Jastrzebski, expects "some 300 to 400" new companies that will be founded by foreigners in 1989 alone, irrespective of the "difficult" economic situation, which he also admitted.

In an interview for HANDELSBLATT on the periphery of the Montreal GATT conference, Jastzebski explained that his optimistic view was due to the expected adoption of the new law on joint ventures by parliament, under which foreigners can henceforth be the sole owners of newly founded enterprises in the PPR. Jastrzebski stressed that the new law is to be discussed in parliament on 21 and 22 December, and to be subsequently adopted by the Warsaw Sejm.

Concerning the "dissolution" of the Central Planning Committee, which he had announced rather casually in Montreal, the minister reacted in a surprisingly reserved manner. Asked about how Poland is to comply with its supply obligations vis-a-vis the other CEMA countries "according to plan" in the future, Jastrzebski referred to the fundamental change in the PPR's new economic policy. "We no longer dictate to (Polish) enterprises that they have to deliver 1,000 pairs of shoes, but proceed from the assumption that they will give us a signal when they are ready to supply."

However, pressure will have to be exerted, Jastrzebski said, in order to increase the economy's productivity. An adequate "instrument" will have to be developed, particularly in order to urge the Polish economy into fields of production "in which we have an interest." In this context, provisions will have to be made that "mechanisms will be created to intervene whenever the economy produces useless goods." In the future, the current Central Planning Committee's task will be limited to "coordination and advising the government concerning the desired aims of economic development."

With regard to the past, Jastrzebski noted that "we do not like to say that everything was wrong. It is enough that one-third (of the former economic policy) was wrong. I think that two-thirds were sort of correct, and that we are not on some sad African level. However, we are certainly not on a level that would be satisfactory to us."

Within the next 6 months, the new Polish economic policy will already show internationally noticeable successes, Jastrzebski said. In particular, the World Bank and the loan-granting members of the Paris Club will then "seriously cooperate with us, and not only give us good advice."

Commentary on PLO-U.S. Dialogue

LD1612094388 Warsaw PAP in English 0058 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Beirut, Dec. 15—Commenting on the surprising decision of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to establish a direct dialogue with the PLO, PAP correspondent in Beirut Tadeusz Jackowski reports:

The irrational doctrine which has since 1965 all-powerfully governed the U.S. policy on the Palestinian complex and the Middle Eastern conflicts has steadily begun to make its way to the grave. This doctrine, born before the PLO leadership went to Yasir 'Arafat, was strengthened by Henry Kissinger and the subsequent U.S. Administrations which led to separatist U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian accords of Camp David. The principle that the Palestine Liberation Organisation cannot be a partner in any form of Middle Eastern solutions has dominated for 23 years.

The far-going turn in the stance of the Western allies who condemned the senseless and lawless decision refusing entry visa to the PLO leader and the hard fact that over 70 world countries recognised the Palestinian state's declaration of independence has certainly had a considerable impact on the sense of political isolation that was worrying the U.S. political elite.

One of the direct political effects is that Shamir can no longer form a new government basing on the extremist elements but he must take into consideration a coalition with those politicians who have not rejected an international conference as way to solve the whole conflict.

FRG Bundestag Official Ruehe, Delegation Visit

'Satisfied' With Talks

LD1212172588 Hamburg DPA in German 1556 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, is satisfied with the progress of his talks in Warsaw. After a meeting today with Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski he said that the talks are going well, with good chances of making further progress in the German-Polish negotiations. It is now time "to change into second gear" in order to examine as quickly as possible how the preconditions can be improved. The process of internal reform in Poland also played an important role in his talks, he said [passage omitted]

Meets With Rakowski

LD1212213388 Warsaw PAP in English 1825 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received here today vice-chairman of the CDU-CSU Bundestag floor group Wolker Ruehe. The talks covered the assessment of state and prospects of development of relations and cooperation between Poland and the FRG.

The meeting was attended by deputy chairman of the Polish-FRG parliamentary group Deputy Ryszard Wojan. Present was FRG'S Ambassador Franz Joachim Shoeller.

Talks With Czyrek, Olechowski

LD1212224988 Warsaw PAP in English 2154 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—A delegation of Bundestag's CDU/CSU parliamentary floor group headed by the group's vice-chairman Volker Ruehe is paying a visit to Poland.

Today, FRG's parliamentarians were received by PUWP CC Political Bureau Member, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Jozef Czyrek.

Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski met with Volker Ruehe. The two politicians came out in favour of continued activeness of Poland and the FRG aimed at reaching further progress in disarmament and European cooperation.

At the same time, Olechowski and Ruehe pointed that it is necessary to intensify efforts in the ongoing talks and negotiations concerning bilateral relations which would make it possible to considerably expand bilateral cooperation and speed up the process of normalization based on the Poland-FRG treaty of 1970.

The Bundestag delegation met with chairman of the Poland-FRG parliamentary group at the Sejm, deputy Manfred Gorywoda.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD1312222988 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—A delegation of the CDU/CSU parliamentary floor group in the Bundestag led by its vice-chairman Volker Ruehe wound up today its visit to this country.

Also today, West German parliamentarians paid a visit to Sejm (Polish parliament) speaker Roman Malinowski to discuss tightening contacts between parliaments of the two countries and some international issues. The two sides expressed satisfaction over an ever richer structure of ties between the Sejm and the Bundestag, including those on the level of parliamentary committees. They also stressed that these contacts are a good inspiration for the development of cooperation between the two countries and make a positive contribution to international climate.

While speaking about the role of parliamentarians in international confidence building, Roman Malinowski recalled the Warsaw meeting of presidents of parliaments from Europe, the U.S. and Canada and stressed that Poland's capital was for parliaments what Helsinki was for governments. He thanked the Bundestag leadership for its involvement in the materialization of the concept of the meeting.

Next, the Sejm speaker said that the relations between Poland and the FRG had also an all-European dimension and recalled the statement by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski about their qualitative breakthrough. There are premises for this on both sides, and groups of experts need a support so that progress is as quick as possible, Malinowski said.

The talk also focused on social and economic reforms in Poland. The two sides expressed hope that meetings of parliamentarians of the two states would continue—for the benefit of relations beween Poland and the FRG.

Present at the meeting was FRG Ambassador to Poland Franz Joachim Schoeller.

Rakowski on Reforms, Relations With FRG

AU1312173188 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 12 Dec 88 p 7

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, by DIE WELT editor in chief Manfred Schell, in Warsaw: "Where are You Leading Poland, Mr Rakowski?"; date not given]

[Text] WELT: Mr Premier, you once said, "I am not a prisoner of the system." What does this phrase mean for your political concept of yourself?

Rakowski: I will tell you this very clearly: The system for which I am now working as premier must remain in movement. The issue is a society with many faces in which everyone can express his ideas and opinions, and in which the individual is considered important. In this respect, we have gone through certain phases of development in Poland. This process of reform must not be stalled, it must be continued. The time of a conformist society that is determined from above is over. This means that the time of dogmatists, who know only their own truths, is over, too. If they realize this, all is well. If they do not, the political and social development will overrun them.

WELT: Where are you leading Poland—politically and economically?

Rakowski: From the political viewpoint, Poland will get a pluralistic society, and I mean this not only with regard to ideology. What we need is a pluralistic society in practice, and we are looking for a society with a Polish face. This pluralism has assumed its first form, it is completely in the process of development. Varied organizations and groups—also with a political character—which function well and pursue their own interests will have their place in this society. Concerning the economy—we have to introduce economic regularity in the economy. Rational and economical principles must be applied. We must put an end to the conditions that developed during Stalin's time and afterward. We have already initiated this process of change and it will still cost us much strength, effort, and sacrifice.

WELT: Poland's economic problems are no secret: inflation of about 50 percent, foreign debts amounting to almost $40 billion, an obsolete economic structure. How do intend to improve in this field?

Rakowski: Activities must be able to develop. Individual employees and collectives must be given more leeway for their own initiatives, to work with their ideas, and to accept their own responsibility. Static thought and action does not help us make progress, as experience has shown. The Polish Government has worked out a draft law on the position of entrepreneurs. This law is to eliminate obstacles and barriers, and to help entrepreneurial forces develop. However, much more important than the law per se is the fact that it puts all sectors of our private, cooperative, and state life on an equal footing. So far, this has not been the case. A second draft law is also being worked out. It is to ensure the protection of foreign capital in Poland and to pave the way for economic cooperation with the West. This, too, is something new.

WELT: Poland needs fresh money, above all investment loans. This is opposed by the image of Poland being a bad debtor.

Rakowski: Poland is not a bad debtor, over the past years it has always fulfilled its obligations. After World War I, Poland paid back debts that had been incurred before 1914. After World War II, we paid back debts that had been incurred by the governments between the two wars. Over the past 8 years we have paid $12 billion in interest. Poland is not insolvent, and it does not try to evade its obligations, either.

Back to your question about new loans: We really need new loans in order to put our economic machinery in motion, to modernize it, to raise exports. This would also help the current political developments in Poland. However, as a realist, I do not expect to be granted new loans. Therefore, we have to concentrate on what we can do with our own means. This year we will attain an increase in exports, of which we can make good use. And we have to intensify cooperation between Polish enterprises and other enterprises in Europe and in the United States. Of course, this effort is made at the cost of the single market.

There Is a "Certain Uneasiness" in the Party

WELT: Plainly speaking, does this mean that the Polish people have to continue to live with a lack of consumer goods?

Rakowski: Yes, even though one has to add that the production of market goods is steadily increasing. I would like to remind you that the population has risen by 2.5 million since 1980. One has to ask the population to understand the situation, even though I know how difficult this is. However, showing understanding means, first and foremost, that the population must trust the government. There has been much disappointment in this respect, also about the fact that things were done halfheartedly or inconsistently, that they got stuck somewhere along the way. We want to put an end to this. I think the people appreciate that things are being done, that we want to eliminate as soon as possible the effects of the economic crisis that hit us so hard at the beginning of the 1980's. I am very careful about forecasts, but there are signs that trust in the government has increased.

WELT: Does the party keep the pace set by you?

Rakowski: The majority of the party is in favor of a reform policy. However, there are remnants of the old way of thinking, which developed in the Stalin era. This means that this way of thinking is still alive. It is not visible in programs but in the attitude, in an uncertainty about what will happen in the future, what will be the party's role. The next Central Committee session will deal with this. We see a certain uneasiness in the party. In certain organizations the uneasiness is very great. However, there are also people who accuse the party of not keeping pace with the speedy changes. The government is much more active, much more determined than the party—I often hear such accusations. I would like to recall that I am also a member of the party and its leadership.

WELT: You want to close down unprofitable enterprises, starting with the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk the birthplace of Solidarity. Is this not a purposeful political action?

Rakowski: It was a deliberate decision—you are right about this, but only to a certain degree. First, the structural change in the Polish economy is a historical necessity. No one who knows about our situation denies this. Second, with the current structures of the Polish economy we will not reach the goals we have set ourselves. In the shipyards we are building ships. Okay. But what is put into the hulls of these ships? Very often it is British or Scandinavian electronics. This is not only unprofitable but also depressing.

You mentioned the political dimension of this decision, which I do not want to deny at all. Of course, I also thought about the political consequences of this decision. In addition, the plan to close down the shipyard has been on the table for months, I found it when I assumed my office. However, previously there was no one courageous enough to sign it. I know that the Western press reacted very strongly to this. But I also tell you that over the past years, at least an equal number of articles were written in the Polish press about the unprofitability of Polish industry. This must come to an end now. It is useless to set political priorities in favor of shipbuilding, housing construction, environmental protection, or agriculture and then stick to these priorities by means of high subsidies. You say that the Lenin shipyard was the birthplace of Solidarity and, of course, I also thought of the political consequences before I agreed to close down the shipyard. The fact that the shipyard was the birthplace of Solidarity cannot be removed from history. The shipyard remains a symbol, like the agreement of 31 August 1980 and the monument to the shipyard workers.

WELT: You plan to close down other enterprises?

Rakowski: Yes, we will do that. We have already closed down individual departments in some factories, and we are in the process of doing this in others. There are quite a number of enterprises on our list that will be closed down because they do not earn money, but cost money. With regard to these decisions we are standing in front of an abyss. We have to give up models that have been built over decades and have not been touched. Sometimes this also injures people's pride. However, the philosophy of big furnaces with a lot of smoke is over—and for this we have to pay a certain price. I think the workers will understand this, because they themselves feel that we cannot continue in this way, that a new orientation is absolutely necessary, both economically and from the standpoint of business policy.

The Pope Is Undisputably the Highest Authority

WELT: What do you think of Lech Walesa? You permitted him to leave the country for the first time since the imposition of martial law in 1981. He is going to Paris. Is this thought to be a gesture toward the French Government or toward Walesa?

Rakowski: Walesa is holding talks with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak. They have met several times. This is a positive thing. The fact that these meetings take place demonstrates that we are willing to hold a dialogue—in a much more courageous and open way than a few years ago. This has been influenced by the experience gained from Poland's development. There was the television debate between Walesa and OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz. There is the opinion that Walesa won this debate. However, it is not important who won. The most important thing is that this dialogue has been started at all.

You asked whether the travel permit for Walesa is a gesture. One should not see this as a gesture. What is important is the establishment and continuation of dialogue in Poland. With regard to Walesa himself, I would like to say in general that everything is working out for the good.

The Western press claims that I am a deadly enemy of Walesa. This is not true. In all my statements I have always been moderate with regard to Walesa. I noted his abilities but also his weaknesses, his trend toward demagogy, the fact that for a certain time he lost control of himself. I am incapable of enmity, because of my very nature, some people even blame me for that. However, one should not misinterpret this quality: I am tough on a subject if need be.

WELT: Lech Walesa said "no freedom without Solidarity." What is your view on this phrase?

Rakowski: This is a wrong phrase, but I do not deny Walesa the right to struggle for Solidarity. This dedication is understandable. But it is an unacceptable simplification—moderately speaking—to make the existence of freedom dependent on the existence of Solidarity, even though it may sound good from the political point of view. However, one can indeed imagine that there will be, for instance, oppositional political parties in Poland in the future, but no Solidarity. Certainly, no one will then say that there is no freedom. Walesa should not overestimate himself.

WELT: And what kind of future does Solidarity have as a trade union?

Rakowski: I think that the enterprises need, above all, social calm in the current stage of our country's development. A separate trade union like Solidarity would only lead to new tensions. However, I also say that the question of whether Solidarity will become an independent trade union or not is not taboo for me. One has to discuss this, in particular at the "roundtable."

WELT: If I interpret your remarks correctly, this means in the end that the official legalizing of Solidarity is out of the question?

Rakowski: I leave this as an open question for the roundtable.

WELT: You are accused of considering the "roundtable" as an instrument that the government is using to skillfully play for time.

Rakowski: The burden of my work alone makes it impossible for me to answer all the statements the Western press make about me. Furthermore, I do not think at all that I have to respond to every piece of nonsense, but it hurts me when I am considered stupid. Why do I say this so clearly? Indeed, I am fully aware that the system with which I am linked cannot be reformed if these reforms are restricted to the economy. However, I think that the chances of implementing reforms in the political and social fields also depend on how the level of the economy develops. In other words: If I were not to concentrate on the economy, within a few months the people would ask: What is so interesting for him that he deals so much with the roundtable and leaves the questions of everyday life to someone else.

There is division of labor at this roundtable. The talks are conducted by my interior minister. One cannot imagine that my minister there represents a different policy than I do. I am as much a father of this roundtable talk as General Jaruzelski and Kiszczak. Thus, the division of labor in the government is obvious: One has to establish facts in the economy. This also applies to me. And others establish facts in the political area. Together this represents a concept. I have been around long enough to know that the reform cannot be restricted to only one area.

WELT: You approved martial law. Many people have not forgiven you for this.

Rakowski: Martial law was a historical necessity, but immediately after its imposition I said that I was not pleased about it. Martial law was a failure of the party and the government in the sense that we were not able to solve the conflict in Poland by political means. The leaders of Solidarity were not able to tackle the task. Poland drowned in chaos and anarchy.

In view of the overall situation and the circumstances in this part of Europe at that time, it was a necessary step. And we paid the lowest imaginable price for it. In other words: Poland could have lost its sovereignty at that time, if we had not come to grips with the situation in the country. Today, martial law and all its consequences are behind us. Our entire legislation has nothing whatsoever to do with it. We are in a new stage, looking for pluralistic social structures. In this connection, I have to recall our party congress in 1981. Already at that time we were active in the reformist spirit, that is, at a time when Gorbachev was not yet around. In conclusion, we lifted martial law with joy.

WELT: What is the effect of the Polish pope on your country's domestic policy?

Rakowski: The pope is certainly the highest authority for Poles. There is no doubt about this.

WELT: Will there be official diplomatic relations between Warsaw and the Vatican?

Rakowski: Negotiations about this are under way. I cannot yet say how many months they will still take, but they are well on the way. I think that relations with Rome will be established. The relationship between the state and the church has become less strained and this is a positive factor, too. At present, the discussion about a draft law on the legal status of the Catholic Church in Poland is coming to an end. Our draft law about the legal position of the church is not a topic for conflict. The relationship between the state and the church is much more active, much more lively than during the past decades. Today the church is acting differently than in the past, and we are also acting differently. We have given up the ideology of struggling against every priest. The church, for its part, is looking for a firm place in the new socialist formation. Look what has happened: Cardinal Glemp has already visited the Soviet Union twice. These are also historic events.

WELT: Today, would the murder of a priest by secret service agents, like in the case of Jerzy Popieluszko, be impossible?

Rakowski: I think so, yes.

WELT: For quite some time Warsaw and Bonn have been discussing a visit to Poland by Chancellor Kohl. What is the snag?

Rakowski: The chancellor knows our attitude. We have presented a package of proposals dealing with the solution of questions about which opinions are still divided. We want a basically new assessment of our relationship with the FRG, we want a fundamental change. I said this in the Sejm. This also means that we ourselves correct our attitude and have to include Bonn's view in our stand. One should eliminate everything that strains relations. Now, when in 1989 we will commemorate the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, the time would be ripe for this. Unfortunately, to date I have not received a clear answer to our offer. We have only heard rhetoric.

WELT: A fundamental change means that both sides have to move. Bonn wants the foundation of cultural institutes, the establishment of a youth program, and also German names for villages where Germans live, such as in Upper Silesia....

Rakowski: All these are questions that are contained in this package. We have to strive for positive solutions covering all disputed issues.

WELT: The German side also wishes to erect monuments and memorials in Auschwitz, to commemorate Count Stauffenberg and the Kreisau Circle.

Rakowski: I will restrain myself in this respect, but I would like to say that the German side also has to take into account Polish interests and Polish resentment. However, it is also correct that resentment must not determine politics. We are realistic in this connection. One has to ask whether Bonn is also being so, because one must not only put the ball into the other's court.

WELT: Protection of the German minority is another one of Bonn's demands. In Upper Silesia—in Opole and Katowice—German was banned from the syllabi of schools and universities a long time ago. There must be no German associations or German newspapers. The largest public library for Silesian publications, the Slaska Library in Katowice, is not permitted to have a German book about Silesia.

Rakowski: I leave this open for the negotiations with Bonn.

WELT: Where are the Polish interests?

Rakowski: In general, we have to say that we cannot make any agreements with Bonn that would not be understood by our population. In this connection, we also have to take into account our psychological situation and our good sense. However, I can tell you that we will support all rational ideas.

There Has Not Only Been Enmity With the Germans

WELT: One particularly sensitive issue is the Oder-Neisse border. You know our binding legal view that the borders of 1937 are binding until the conclusion of a peace treaty. In his speech on 8 May the FRG president demanded: Let us put the need for understanding above the legal interests. Is this an acceptable formulation?

Rakowski: No. The Poles want a clear position in this area. I do not want the Germans to be considered enemies in our country. There has not only been enmity, there have also been centuries of good cooperation, of trust. I say very frankly that one also has to think about the consequences of World War II for the Germans. This also has to be taken into account in politics. One has to see this and beware of exaggerations.

WELT: With the consequences, you mean the expulsion of millions of Germans?

Rakowski: Above all, I thought of the millions of victims and the crimes of German fascism that have left indelible traces in the memory of the European nations.

WELT: I read the communique that was published after your first visit to Moscow. Nothing was mentioned about dark spots in the relationship between Poland and the Soviet Union. First of all, I refer to the murders at Katyn, the hundreds of thousands of Poles who were deported to the Soviet Union, the losses of territory after 1945.

Rakowski: You did not read anything about this in the communique because I did not discuss these questions with Gorbachev. Above all, we discussed perestroyka and socialist renewal in Poland. I am trying to think about the future. Of course, this does not mean that these questions do not concern us. They are topics for discussions among historians.

WELT: But you certainly have an opinion on this?

Rakowski: I think that the questions will be cleared up earlier rather than later. These topics are written about and discussed quite openly in Poland; they are no longer taboo. This also applies to the fate of those deported in Stalin's time during World War II and immediately after its end. In addition, the Soviet press is also dealing with this subject. In Katyn there is now a cross that was put up by the Catholic Church. Our people go there.

WELT: What do you think today about the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 and the secret additional protocol on the division of Poland?

Rakowski: Are you asking me for a historical lecture or a political statement? The history of mankind is complicated. This also applies to the history shared by Poles, Russians, and Germans. One has to accept that it cannot be changed. Today these topics are openly written about in the Soviet Union. A few years ago, this was inconceivable. Now the point in history has been reached at which one also has to speak about the Hitler-Stalin Pact. One must not forget history, but one must also not remain bound by it.

MSZMP Budapest Delegation Ends Visit

LD0812235388 Warsaw PAP in English
2238 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 8—A delegation of the Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) ended a two-day working visit to this city on Thursday.

The head of the delegation, HSWP CC member, first secretary of the Budapest Committee Mihaly Jasso was received by Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek who briefed him on preparations for the 10th PUWP CC plenum, processes of reforming life in this country.

The delegation met also with president of the Warsaw People's Council Mieczyslaw Szostek and president of Warsaw [title as received] Jerzy Boleslawski to discuss the problems of this city and the advantageous cooperation of both capitals.

Jaruzelski Receives SFRY Publisher 8 Dec

LD0812232188 Warsaw PAP in English
1924 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 8—PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received director-general of the "Jugoslavijapublik" publishing house Dragoljub Djordjevic today.

During the talks, Djordjevic conveyed to the Polish leader a special author's copy of a collection of his (Wojciech Jaruzelski's) speeches published in Yugoslavia.

PPF Group Departs; PRON Agreement Signed

LD0812235688 Warsaw PAP in English
2229 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 8—A delegation of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front with its Secretary-General Istvan Huszar paid visit here Dec. 6-8 at an invitation from General Secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON Stanislaw Ciosek.

The delegation was received by Chairman of the National Council of PRON Jan Dobraczynski and Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek. The Hungarian guests also called on chairman of the Democratic Party CC Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak.

The visit ended with the signing of an agreement on cooperation between the PRON and PPF for the years 1989-1993.

Cooperation Blueprint With Egypt Signed

LD0812162888 Warsaw PAP in English
1200 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Cairo, Dec. 8—Poland and Egypt signed here today another inter-governmental blueprint concerning the implementation of the agreement on cultural and scientific-technological cooperation until 1991.

The programme envisages the expansion of scientific and cultural exchange, direct cooperation between higher schools and institutes of culture, collaboration in the field of archeology and preservation of monuments. For the first time the Egyptian side has granted permenent scholarships to Polish orientalists.

Ceausescu, 'Arafat Hold Talks in Bucharest

AU1612120688 Paris AFP in English
1148 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 15 (AFP)—Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasir 'Arafat had talks here Friday with the Romanian President and Communist Party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, officials said.

The two men met for more than an hour to discuss the Middle East situation following this week's United Nations General Assembly debate in Geneva, the officials added.

Romania on November 24 recognized the Palestinian state proclaimed by Mr. 'Arafat at a meeting of the Palestine National Council (parliament-in-exile) in Algiers on November 15.

Romania is the only Warsaw Pact nation to have kept diplomatic ties with Israel after the Israeli-Arab War of October 1967, and Mr. Ceausescu has mediated between Israelis and Arabs, notably concerning the peace treaty signed between Israel and Egypt in 1967.

The scheduled length of Mr. 'Arafat's visit to Romania has not been announced.

Ursu Meets Soviet Scientists in Moscow

AU0912191488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1854 GMT 9 Dec 88

["Romanian-Soviet Talks on Technical and Scientific Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 09/12/1988—Interviews were held in Moscow between Ion Ursu, first vice chairman of the National Committee for Science and Technology, and the executives of the State Committee for Science and Technology and of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

On behalf of Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc., first deputy prime minister, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, cordial greetings were conveyed to Boris Tolstykh, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, to Guriy Marchuk, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and to the Soviet scientists as well as wishes of success in their activity for the development of science and technology in the Soviet Union.

Thanking on behalf of the institutions they represent and of the Soviet scientists, Boris Tolstykh and Guriy Marchuk requested that choicest wishes be conveyed to Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc. of new and important successes in her highly responsible activity for the development of science, technology and education in Romania. They referred to the meeting and talks they had with Mrs Elena Ceausescu on 5 October during the friendly official visit she and President Nicolae Ceausescu paid to Moscow with regard to the growth of the Soviet-Romanian technical and scientific collaboration.

During the talks with Boris Tolstykh, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, and with Guriy Marchuk, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, analysis was made, in the spirit of the decisions made during the Romanian-Soviet summit interview in October, of the stage and results of the technical and scientific cooperation between the two countries, and measures were covenanted for the further intensification of that activity, for its growing efficiency, and the development of production specialization and cooperation in production by applying the achievements jointly scored in science and technology. More particularly the stage was analysed of cooperation in solving questions of mutual interest in chemistry and petrochemistry, metallurgy, physics and nuclear technology, machine building, the production of technological lasers and scientific instruments, in agriculture and biotechnology. Measures were set for a stepped up realization of the complex projects throughout stages, from research to production.

Academician Ion Ursu also had interviews at research institutes in Moscow with Academician A.M. Prokhorov, member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, nobel prize winner, director of the Institute of General Physics of the Academy, and with other Soviet scientists and experts.

Medical Aid to Armenian Victims Reported

AU1512161888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1526 GMT 15 Dec 88

["Aid Granted by Romania to the Population Affected by the Earthquake in Armenia"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/12/1988—From the very first moments, the working people in Romania expressed their feelings of deep compassion for the casualties and suffering caused by the earthquake in the Armenian SSR, being, in these difficult moments, at the side of the Soviet peoples, of those struck by the tremor.

As a live expression of these feelings, of the spirit of solidarity between the Romanian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, five tons of medicines and medical materials were sent for the population affected by the devastating earthquake in the Armenian SSR. The relief was carried to Moscow by an aircraft of the TAROM air company.

Dascalescu Greets DPRK Premier on Appointment

AU1312194388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1849 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/12/1988—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu conveyed Yon Hyong-muk warm congratulations and the best wishes of full success in his activity on his having been appointed premier of the Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The telegram expresses the belief that through joint efforts the two countries' governments will contribute to the continuous development of the Romanian-Korean relations of friendship and collaboration, in the spirit of summit talks and understandings.

SCINTEIA on CSCE Cooperation Debates

AU1312153688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1453 GMT 13 Dec 88

["Inter-European Cooperation—Essential Component of Security in the Continent"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 13/12/1988—In a Vienna dispatch referring to the debates in the All-European Conference on aspects of economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other kinds of cooperation in domains of mutual interest, daily "SCINTEIA" writes inter alia: Romania, profoundly attached to the cause of security and cooperation in Europe, has declared from the beginning for a novel approach to the aggregate of cooperation issues, so that, by the understandings to be adopted, the Vienna forum may really mark a step ahead in the development of the multilateral collaboration among the participant states. As seen by Romania this requires above all the elimination of the obstacles, of any restrictive, discriminatory practices, of the artificial barriers, from the economic and commercial exchanges, from the technological and scientific cooperation. Romania advanced concrete proposals for the wide promotion of new, modern forms of economic, industrial, scientific, technological cooperation and in other domains of mutual interest. The Romanian proposals have found many points of coincidence and convergence with the ideas and proposals advanced by other states, which proves the mutual interest and preoccupations in this sense, in the continent.

The in-depth debates conducted along the two years of negotiations set landmarks for comprehensive programs of action that could make up, as a whole, the mandate for the future negotiations envisaged to be conducted within three distinct fora: A meeting on economic cooperation, a scientific forum and a meeting on environmental protection, all of them comprising also proposals advanced by Romania.

Pointing out that the organization of a debate on issues of technological and scientific cooperation, i.e. of a scientific forum, as envisioned in the draft final act of the Vienna meeting, came to the fore as a prime requirement, the daily mentions: "A large international cooperation in this domain naturally requires the removal of the extant barriers in the scientific exchanges, the endorsement of measures to facilitate all states' access to modern technologies, starting from the existence in Europe as well of countries with differing development levels in this field. The draft document of the meeting stresses the role that could be played in this respect by the achievement of bilateral accords between universities, between scientific and technical institutes in the participant countries. Emphasized is also the requirement, stressed in the proposals advanced by Romania, of cooperation for the training of expert cadres in economy, science and technology.

The debates in the Vienna meeting, the consensus on the proposal advanced by a number of countries, Romania included, to hold a meeting on environmental protection, illustrate the participant states' preoccupation and determination alike, to work together for a future of security in Europe in this respect as well, "SCINTEIA" shows.

Delegate Addresses GATT Meeting in Montreal

AU0712193788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Ottawa AGERPRES, 7/12/1988—During the general debates conducted in the plenum of the GATT ministerial meeting in Montreal, the Romanian chief delegate Nicolae Andrei, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, outlined Romania's stance and President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook on the need to set international commercial relations upon new-type democratic bases with a view to ensuring an international trade free of obstacles, discriminations, political pressure and any kind of conditionings. He pointed out that in the two years elapsed since the launching of the "Uruguay round," the international economic and commercial climate had deteriorated further, new protectionist measures being applied, new states of tension emerging and the tendency to resort to unilateral measures of a discriminatory character intensifying. Furthermore, phenomena of monetary and financial crisis have been manifest and the situation of the developing countries' foreign debts has deteriorated further to negatively bear on their possibilities of development and participation in the international trade. Like developments are in strong contrast with the pledges taken at the moment of the "Uruguay round," in 1986, concerning the non-application of further restrictive measures and the progressive elimination of the steps that ran counter to GATT provisions.

Emphasis was placed on the fact that Romanian exports had continued to be adversely affected by a number of protectionist measures, often discriminatory in character.

The speaker pointed out that Romania and the other developing countries were vitally interested in the current round of multilateral commercial negotiations conducted within the GATT, due to conclude in 1990, which should lead to the adoption and application of palpable measures providing for the building of a new order in the international trade to ensure the broadest liberalization of commercial exchanges, that should be carried through on equitable stable, long-term bases, with a view to promoting the economic progress of all countries, of the developing ones in the first place.

Highlighting the importance of the multilateral commercial negotiations for the approach to and global resolution of crisis and instability phenomena in the world trade, the speaker stressed the need for the Montreal meeting to agree upon clear orientations on an intensified, effective commitment to negotiations so as to score balanced results in all the areas of the round.

It is objectively necessary that the requirements for the application of the basic GATT principles, more particularly, non-discrimination, the granting of the most-favoured-nation clause on a stable, unconditioned basis and, the observance of the legitimate commercial interests of all participating states, should be thoroughly considered, the speaker said.

In this context, the Romanian representative showed in conclusion, special attention should be paid to the effective translation into fact of the principle of ensuring a preferential treatment for the developing countries, account being taken of their specific needs and of the growing interdependences between trade, financial and monetary issues and development.

Agriculture Plenum Opens, Agenda Reported

AU1512170888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1651 GMT 15 Dec 88

["Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/12/1988—The proceedings of the enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, a broad representative forum of Romanian democracy, opened in Bucharest on Thursday, December 15.

In the attendance, as invited guests, are first secretaries and agricultural secretaries of county party committees, staff in responsible posts in the relevant ministry, in the National Water Council, in the Ministry of Farm Produce Contracting and Acquisition, representatives of their county bodies, experts and workers in state and cooperative farming units, in agricultural education and research. Executives of economic ministries and central bodies, party and state activists and activists of mass and public organizations also attend.

The agenda includes a report on the activity carried through by the National Council with a view to fulfilling production and economic-financial tasks in 1988 and on the measures intended to boost production and economic efficiency to the levels envisaged under the state plan for 1989; questions concerning the achievement of the centralized state stock of all farm produce in 1988; the 1989 State Plan by territorial units of the ministries and central departments in the composition of the National Council; the programme for the spring farming campaign; the plan for the location of cereal cultures, technical plants and vegetables and the programmes for the technologies to be employed on them in 1989; the fulfilment of the plan for the rise in livestock and livestock products and for deliveries to the state stock and the actions to be taken for the fulfilment of the tasks for 1989; the efficiency of farm production in 1988 and its levels next year; programmes for irrigation and river development operations and measures needed for a proper administration and conservation of land; programme for the expansion of the use of non-conventional energy sources.

Debates in plenum and in sections were conducted on the opening day.

The proceedings of the plenary meeting continue.

Pacoste Speaks at Enlarged Agriculture Plenum

AU1612125288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1122 GMT 16 Dec 88

["Report at Enlarged Plenary Meeting of National Council of Agriculture"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/12/1988—The report read on 15 December at the opening of the enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry and Water Management, by Cornel Pacoste, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, chairman of the council, shows that in the period of great achievements inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress (1965) agriculture has been restored to its status of basic branch of socioeconomic development in Romania.

The report shows that 3,650,000 ha [hectares] were irrigated (and by April 1989 4 million ha will be irrigated), important land improvement, soil melioration works were performed to raise the land's productive potential and underscores that conditions were thus provided for crops to grow continually. In 1988, the report points out, although weather was not so good, both summer cereal crops and autumn yields were big, which ensures the population's fine supply with farm foodstuffs and other needs of the national economy. The cereal production of this year topped 30 million tons, the document shows, and thus the tasks traced by the 13th party Congress were implemented.

Noting that many socialist farm units got record productions—which proves the potential of the Romanian agriculture, its resources for the continual increase of all culture yields—the report shows that over 700 state and cooperative farm units achieved productions of over 5,000 kg wheat per ha, and 50 of them exceeded 8,000 kg per ha, and 71 units achieved over 20,000 kg corn cobs per ha.

Notwithstanding the fine results scored by some counties and units—the report shows—the average outputs, the total outputs and the deliveries to the state stock are not up to plan provisions.

Noting that, as compared to the previous year, higher results have been scored in animal-breeding this year, the report shows that although the number of beef, pig and sheep heads grew, they are below plan provisions.

The report shows that provisions for 1989 are for a 5-5.5 per cent growth of the global farm output, and 6-6.5 per cent growth of the net farm output, which should be done by higher average productions, a growing labour productivity, cuts in material expenditures, consistent application of the principles of the economic and financial mechanism.

Referring to the food industry, the report evinces that in 1988, this branch has steadily developed scoring a higher industrial marketable production and delivering more commodities for the market, as compared to 1987. Nevertheless , the report stresses, this year's results are not up to the planned tasks, to the possibilities and the existing facilities. Mentioning that in 1989, substantial rises in all plan indices are stipulated, the document underscores that measures should be further taken to improve and modernize the organization of production, implement the special development programmes in the food industry subbranches, to raise the quality of products and diversify them, turn to better account the raw materials.

By the end of 1989—the report shows inter alia—the energy for animal-breeding farms and other agricultural units will be entirely supplied by non-conventional energy sources—biogas, biomass, sun and wind energy, thermal water and micro-hydropower plants.

Development of Agro-Industrial Centers Noted

AU1612092588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0906 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/12/1988—In the years to come, roughly 550 communes in Romania will turn into agroindustrial townlets. Most of the would-be agroindustrial towns boast a solid economic base, which is an outcome of the location of industrial and farming units. In the past 15 years, some of them registered a more-than-tenfold rise in overall production in terms of value, in their overwhelming majority, these growths were accounted for by the diversification of economic—industrial and farming—activities, which went hand in hand with the development of the activity in which the respective centre specialized.

A more marked industrialization process is the salient feature of the current development stage of agroindustrial centres. The goal is a better correlation between the specialization of industry and the types of local resources, which will provide for the development of industrial activities apt to contribute to the further growth of industrial centres.

Investment programmes in force and long-term ones provide for the building of new industrial units in agroindustrial centres, for the updating of the existing ones, and for the development of strong farming units in branches specific to the respective area. At present, the most important units of these centres are the food-industry units, which capitalize local farm produce. Furthermore, as a result of the process of decentralizing industrial activities in densely populated urban centres, sections of the large-scale industry emerged in a number of agroindustrial towns, such as Lovrin, Scornicesti, Belcesti, Olteni, Tibanesti and others. The small-scale industry developed and diversified, as an important part of the process of industrialization of these centres.

The basic economic branch of the new agroindustrial centres will continue to be agriculture, which now knows intensive-type growth. Farming activities will closely intertwine with industrial activities and services, lending the future towns a complex economic profile.

Assembly Approves 1988 Budget Rebalancing

LD1312211288 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1727 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, December 13 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Yugoslavia today approved the draft federal budget for 1989 of 20,920 billion dinars (4,650 dinars to one U.S. dollar).

The bulk of the funds will come from customs duties and sales tax and around 3,807 billion dinars from contributions by the six republics and two autonomous provinces.

The highest planned outlays are for the Armed Forces—15,200 billion dinars, or 68 percent of the federal budget. The remaining 32 percent are planned to cover the development of the underdeveloped parts of the country, veterans' and disablement benefits and the work of the federal authorities and organizations.

The Assembly of Yugoslavia urged the Federal Government to investigate possibilities for reducing the budget, primarily through cuts in on-budget spending. Insisting on saving measures, the assembly delegates took the position that the Federal Budget must, in keeping with the anti-inflationary policy, be adjusted to cuts in general and joint spending.

The Assembly today also approved the rebalancing of this year's federal budget by an additional 600 billion dinars, the second so far. Of the 600 billion dinars, 483.9 billion will go to the Armed Forces, 59.2 billion will be used to finance the underdeveloped republics of Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro and the province of Kosovo, 43.9 billion will go for military pensions and veterans, and disablement benefits, and 12 billion for the work of the federal authorities and organizations. Ten billion dinars will be kept in reserve.

Economy Minister on Economic Trends

AU1212184988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
10-11 Dec 88 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Exports Are Only Encouragement"]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec—There are only a few positive sparks in the long list of negative economic indicators for the first 9 months of this year. There are not even indications that the situation could improve in the foreseeable future. This was the essence of what Dr Rado Bohinc, federal secretary for economy, told journalists today.

The prices of industrial products in the first 11 months were 222.8 percent higher. They rose by 16.7 percent in November alone. In the same month, retail prices rose by 13.3 percent. They were 228.9 percent higher than in the same month last year. In the first 9 months, total reserve grew two and one-half times, while the liabilities to suppliers (illiquidity) almost tripled. The economy's share in the distribution of income continues to diminish: it fell from 55.4 percent (this was how much the economy received in the first 9 months of last year) to 51.2 percent. Personal incomes showed a nominal rise but fell in real terms. In the observed period, the purchasing power was 12.2 percent less than in September of last year.

In addition, industrial production in October fell by 1.5 percent in relation to the same month of last year, but was 0.3 percent higher than in September of this year. According to Bohinc, this marks an end to the falling industrial production. The part of the economy's income used for settling losses fell from 13.9 percent to 7.9 percent in the period to the end of September of this year.

Trade with the world is again the bright spot of the otherwise gloomy economic trends. Including November of this year, exports rose by 10.7 percent. Exports to the hard currency markets rose by 13.6 percent and to the clearing account markets by 1.7 percent. At the same time imports rose by 7 percent. The bulk of imports consists of raw materials and semi-finished products. Although it was planned that liabilities from the clearing account market should be reduced by $700 million, in the first 9 months they in fact rose and stood at $2 billion. It could be said that the foreign currency market has operated normally and that all commercial banks' demands were met.

FEC Widens Scope for Foreign Investors

AU1312171188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Dec 88 p 4

[B. M. report: "The Door Is Widely Open to Capital"]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec—A few days ago, the Assembly started to discuss the latest version of the draft law on foreign investments. This was also the reason for the FEC to hold a press conference today at which Muhamet Mustafa, member of the FEC, informed the journalists about the latest amendments to this important legal act that is expected to be adopted by the end of this year.

The final version of the law on foreign investment has 36 articles and contains almost all objections and suggestions by businessmen and foreign partners with whom talks about ways to attract more foreign capital in Yugoslavia have been going on for some months. Among the most important additions in relation to the previous versions is above all the broadening of the areas in which foreigners will be allowed to invest. Now, foreigners can invest anywhere they want except in basic education, publishing, and some other forms of media information activities. The legal protection of partners is clearly defined while the procedure on approving investments has been shortened (to 45 days) and made simpler. In addition, Yugoslav citizens have the same rights as foreigners.

The draft law also allows the conversion of debts into joint ventures and, as was stated today, other economic measures, above all the taxation policy, will be used to encourage both foreign and domestic partners to invest in the Yugoslav economy. Another important addition lies in the fact that fixed-terms and minimum foreign investments (which existed in the previous version of the law) have been scrapped. Foreigners will also be able to set up independent enterprises in the tax free zones. However, special acts will forbid this if the interests of the country are threatened. As far as the forms of investments are concerned, the law envisages those forms which are known and recognized in the international business world.

Trade Union Confederation Seeks Autonomous Role

LD1112192188 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1749 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, December 11 (TANJUG)—By its own reform, the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia wants to get rid of its role of a transmission of the Yugoslav party and to create an authentic and autonomous organization, former president-now member of the confederation's presidency Zvonimir Hrabar told TANJUG on Sunday.

This means—Hrabar made it clear—that we want to get rid of a hierarchical relationship in the political system which leaves us only the protective role while tying our hands as regards the state bodies, and not that we shall turn into an opposition organization.

The status and structure of the trade unions have to be changed to enable them not only to protect the rights of the workers but also to participate in shaping policies and proposing solutions in their interest, he said.

The member of the top trade union leadership believes that the forthcoming reform will also have to solve the problem of federalization of this organization, now based largely on the territorial principle and with national interests prevailing over the class ones.

The changes should make it possible for the union members to get organized on the production principle, said Hrabar. The admission criteria will be extended to include farmers and those who become redundant due to structural changes in the economy.

Questions raised by the trade union reform should be settled as part of preparations for the regular congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, due in 1990.

Stojsic Explains Resignation, Views

AU1512123488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12 Dec 88 p 4

[Letter sent by Djordje Stojsic, former president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, to the working group of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee which had been set up to establish the responsibility of former Presidium members]

[Text] Since you informed me in writing that you will have to have a talk with me on 5 or 6 December 1988 in order to be able to perceive all arguments and explanations, shed light on circumstances, establish facts, and prepare your suggestion to the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee on this basis, I inform you that despite all efforts made to respond to your summons, I am unable to meet your request.

Despite the facts presented above, I nevertheless want to help you and to explain to you how to find the most objective way to obtain facts about my work as member of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, as well as president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, the office I held for 3 years, that is, until 24 April 1988. During this period, I was also an ex-officio member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LC Central Committee Presidium of Serbia.

There are documents and shorthand notes which were made over this entire period and from which one can best see and establish my ideopolitical views and efforts.

Most of my ideopolitical statements, particularly those made at the sessions of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, were as a rule published in the publications issued by the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and regularly sent to all Vojvodina LC communal committees and basic organizations as well as published in the public information media.

When assessing my work, as well as the work of other members of the presidium and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, I think that you will also have to take into account all the documents that the presidium and the provincial committee endorsed, adopted, and publicized.

As regards the Novi Sad events of 5 and 6 October, I briefly explained my views on them in my resignation as member of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium and member of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee which was read and adopted at the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee held on 6 October that I did not attend for health reasons.

Apart from the explanation I gave then, on this occasion I would like to add the following in connection with the resignation I tendered as a result of the Novi Sad events of 5 and 6 November.

I am deeply convinced and still firmly hold the view, that what was involved then was a well-prepared putsch, organized outside of all the system's legal institutions with a view to overthrowing all Vojvodina leaderships under pressure, because this could not have been done in a legal way and within a democratic debate. I would not present any facts in support of this view, because they are probably known to some of you, as well as to most members of the provincial committee and comrades in other bodies and communes of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. However, nobody dares speak openly and publicly about this, because it is known in advance that he would be expelled from the LCY and be left without a job, submitted to continuous discredit by people who declare everybody who would do such a thing to be an enemy of this country, and would expose his family to continuous harassment through anonymous letters containing threats and night phone calls with frightening messages.

I would particularly like to call your attention to, that is, to remind you of the behavior of the Belgrade press—whose founder is the SAWP of Serbia—over a long period, which is an illustrative example that can confirm my views presented above.

An unprecedented campaign was launched in the past, particularly during the last 8 months, with a view to discrediting the provincial leadership at all costs, and particularly some comrades who occupied leading posts in the province, as well as some others who were members of the LCY Central Committee from Vojvodina.

I would not like to speak about the extent, nature, content, and untenability of that campaign. There are documents about that in the Information Center of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, so you can see for yourselves. That campaign is not only unsuitable to the very LCY being and its democratic character, such methods have never been accepted by the communist party of yugoslavia, that is, the LCY from its foundation until this very day. On the contrary, they have always been most resolutely condemned and rejected. As far as I know, they are still not accepted but have been rejected by all civilized societies throughout the world, be it communist and workers, or bourgeois parties and movements.

As regards the assessments and stances issued by the Presidium of the LC Central Committee of Serbia and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, as well as the critical analysis adopted at the latest session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee regarding the Novi Sad events and the weaknesses and mistakes in the work of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee itself in implementing the policy of the LCY and the LC of Serbia and particularly in realizing the stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the realization of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia, I want to inform you that the majority of them are unacceptable to me, and that they cannot be a realistic basis for assessing either individual or collective responsibility for the work in the LC of Vojvodina.

This refers in particular to the assessments and positions of the LC Central Committee Presidium of Serbia, which in their essence are chiefly one-sided and accusatory, without citing any objective and valid argument or fact. If one bears in mind that they were published before the session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina, it follows quite clearly that they were not designed only to cover the unprincipled campaign conducted against the Vojvodina leadership through many years and to provide a justification for it, but also to prejudge and to prevent a democratic and principled discussion at the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee then announced, and to force the Presidium of the LC of Vojvodina to unconditionally submit its resignation; these premises were confirmed at the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee.

The assessments and positions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium have been, I think, adopted in a hurry and under pressure. They chiefly contain negative assessments that are not based on objective facts and arguments, but are a result of pragmatic practice, proceeding from the conviction that the assessments and positions as presented were most useful at a given moment, regardless of their objectivity.

I would not like to speak about the critical analysis, I would only like to say that, as regards its essence and the way assessments are made in it, it is completely identical to the assessments and stances of the two presidiums.

When I point out that the assessments and stances of the two presidiums, as well as the critical analysis cannot be a reliable criterion for establishing individual and collective responsibility in the LC of Vojvodina and its bodies. This is not because I want to say that there were no weaknesses and mistakes in our work. On the contrary, I think that there were quite a few.

However, since I was member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LC Central Committee Presidium of Serbia for 3 years and participated in their work, I can say with certainty that mistakes and weaknesses of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium were neither bigger nor smaller than the two said presidiums had in their work.

When mentioning the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LC Central Committee Presidium of Serbia, I want to inform you with full responsibility that in the past 3 years, neither of these bodies made the assessment or took the stance that the policy of the provincial committee and its presidium was wrong or that it included grave mistakes.

One can, therefore, open the question of the responsibility of these two bodies, because they are obliged by the statutes of the LCY and the LC of Serbia to warn the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee bodies and to call their attention to their possible wrong policy. However, all official assessments were different. How is one then to understand the fact that both the LC Central Committee Presidium of Serbia and the LCY Central Committee Presidium have made the assessments I have mentioned above.

Finally, let me sum up what I have said so far.

I have already stated and explained above that I do not accept the assessments and stances of the two presidiums and the provincial committee and that they cannot represent an objective criterion for establishing my ideo-political responsibility, and therefore I do not see the point of the talk you planned to have with me.

Therefore, I am sending you my party membership card as a confirmation that I do not consider myself to be member of the LCY any longer.

Slovenia's Stanovnik Denies Reports on Remarks

*LD1512222588 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2048 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] Ljubljana, December 15 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Janez Stanovnik today denied reports by the BBC's Central Europe commentator and the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG reporter who said that, in an interview to the West German DPA news agency, Stanovnik urged a multiparty system in Yugoslavia, that the socialist model collapsed and that Yugoslavia's one-party system survived.

Denying the claims made by the BBC and the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG's journalists, who cited this interview, Stanovnik assessed all this as untrue through the republican committee on information.

'Special Purpose Production' Plan Strike Ends

*AU1512205888 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] After a partial work stoppage at the special purpose production plant [fabrika namenske proizvodnje; a euphemism for a military production plant] of the Sloboda Composite Organization of Associated Labor in Cacak, extraordinary meetings were held today and it was decided that each person employed there should receive 400,000 dinars in personal income in December. It is expected that these supplemental costs will be covered by quicker payments for goods delivered on credit by the end of the year.

At the same time, workers requested that they should be allowed to decide on confidence in the management of the plant. The workers' dissatisfaction occurred because of personal incomes which are much lower in real terms than last year, and because of the increasing taxation burden borne by the economy.

Public Opinion Poll on Multi-Party System

*AU1512101888 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene
9 Dec 88 pp 18-19*

[Vlado Miheljak article: "A Multiparty System? Yes, Please."]

[Text] In its latest opinion poll, MLADINA has made an empirical survey of the attitude of Slovenes toward political pluralism and a multiparty system. We expected that many would abstain from answering the questions. The results have surprised the biggest optimists. The percentage of abstentions is within the range that is normal for the most ordinary questions. We first asked our respondents a general question about the sense of and the need for the introduction of a multiparty system. As Table 1 shows, as many as 79 percent of those who express an opinion were of the opinion that it is necessary to introduce a multiparty system. The conviction is negatively correlated with age (i.e. the older the respondents were, the less unequivocally they decided for the first option). However, the percentage of those who are against the introduction of a multiparty system does not essentially increase with age, but more of these people have no opinion. This can at least partially be explained by the general higher tendency of older respondents not to express an opinion. In the 15-24 age group, nobody rejected the necessity of introducing a multiparty system. Considerable differences appear with the vocation of the respondents. Clearly the lowest percentage in favor of the first option is among peasants (again in favor of expressing no opinion) and among the pensioners, who reject the sense of and the need for introducing a multiparty system.

Asked about the consequences of a possible introduction of a multiparty system (Table 2), 48 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that this would mean an improvement in the economic situation and more democracy in political life. The replies by the youngest age group (15-24 years) are significant; they are much less optimistic and most decided for the fourth option; i.e. that this would not mean an automatic improvement of the situation but would only create conditions for resolving the crisis.

Answers to the third question (Table 3) are also interesting, but the results are much less homogeneous. The respondents wavered between the possibility that the parties were formed on a Yugoslav national level and the formation within the several federal units. Along with considerable abstinence, the responses are slightly in favor of the formation of parties within the republics. Young people (15-24 years) and old people (55 years and above) are more in favor of a republican option than the middle generation (25-54 years). The republican variation of the multiparty system is most supported by students and craftsmen, while workers (semiskilled, skilled, and highly skilled workers) are somewhat more in favor of the Yugoslav variation.

The fourth question was most attractive. The respondents were given a choice of the most typical parties in the European parliamentary countries. It was shown that Slovenes know these parties and their programs pretty well. There were few of those who decided for any other party than those offered. Preferences for our party substitutes (for instance, the Peasant Union, the Intellectuals Union) were an exception. As may be seen from Table 4, the Communists did not put up a good show at this public opinion poll mimicking parliamentary elections. They obtained 7.3 percent of votes (or 9.6 percent of those expressing an opinion). The sample contained 9.4 percent Communists in all (of these 1.4 percent intend to leave the LC soon). However, the relative agreement between the percentage of the Communists in the sample and the percentage of the votes in favor of the party cannot be attributed to the present party members. Only 40 percent of the present Communists would vote for the Communists in a multiparty system! These would also get the vote of 4.7 percent of noncommunists. According to our findings, none of the Communists who want to leave the LC (see Table 5) and none of the former Communists would vote for the Communists. These would get a few more votes among pensioners and older respondents.

As one can see in the table, the strongest party of a Slovene parliament would be the social democrats, followed by the christian democrats and the "greens". If we count the undecided respondents as abstaining in an election, the calculations show that the most realistic composition of the government (at MLADINA elections) would be a coalition between the strongest party, the social democrats (35 percent of all votes cast) and the "greens" (19 percent of all the votes cast). The second strongest party, the christian democrats (25 percent of all the votes cast), has no chance of forming a coalition, because its natural ally, the liberals, kept 7.7 percent of the votes cast, as is typical for Europe. A red-black grand coalition is not likely, because a structural analysis of the voters shows that Slovene social democracy tends more to the left than the European average. Therefore any flirting with the blacks would bring negative results at the next elections. To ignore the greens, whose range shown by the structural analysis of the voters is very wide, would also have negative consequences. Where did the social democrats get their votes? The contribution by the present assembly majority, the Communists, is not to be neglected. As many as 46 percent of the present and former communists gave them their votes. Otherwise, the Slovene social democrats are a party of the middle and the young generation of intellectuals, industrial workers, and students. The greens are the party typical for the youngest generation of voters, college students, secondary school students and—this is interesting—of craftsmen. The christian democrats—as the strongest opposition party in a Slovene parliament—are older voters, peasants, and pensioners. The liberals are the party of young people and—of course—craftsmen.

We also asked the question how much support the Communists, the LC, as a party would get at a general election. Considering the outcome of the elections, the result was an overestimation: 24.2 percent. The Communists, who in the general election persisted in their present affiliation, were especially prone to overestimate.

To what extent is such a result of MLADINA parliamentary election realistic?

The results are somewhat made relative by the fact that MLADINA general election did not take into consideration any possible contribution by the leaders of the several parties and their programs. Thus for instance, the same voters who gave low preference to the Communists have at the same time have a high opinion of Kucan and Stanovnik. If Kucan were thus to appear as the leader of the Communists at a general election, he would certainly attract a few more percent. Of course one also does not know who would be the leaders of the social democrats and other parties and what effect they would have on our results. It is an undisputable fact, however, that the Slovenes favor social democracy most. And last but not least, who can guarantee that some of the most popular Communists would not become social democrats in a multiparty system? And vice versa, that youth leftism would not wake up in an opposition leader so that he would lead a variation of Eurocommunism? The replies will be clear when we will pass from the opinion polls mimicking multiparty elections to actual elections, which the Slovenes obviously desire more and more. They not only would like to have them, but they have shown that they have a fairly precise impression of the parties and that they have worked out their outlooks and political identity.

So long as things remain as of old, we can repeat the thesis which we have noted in this magazine earlier: the longer the Communists persist (illegitimately) in power, the more the Slovenes' positions and views will move to the right.

[The article contains the following five tables, of which Table 1 and 2 are illustrated with bar diagrams and Table 3 with a pie chart]

Table 1
Do you think that it is necessary to introduce a multiparty system in our country?
yes: 63.9 percent
no : 15.1 percent
undecided: 21.0 percent

Table 2

What would be the consequence of introducing a multiparty system?

1. Improvement of the economic situation: 8.7 percent
2. More democracy in political life: 4.6 percent
3. Improvement of the economic situation and more democracy in political life: 37.9 percent
4. It would not mean an automatic improvement of the situation, but it would create conditions for resolving the crisis: 18.3 percent
5. It would only aggravate the present crisis: 10.0 percent
6. Don't know, undecided: 20.5 percent.

Table 3

In your opinion, how should the party system be organized in Yugoslavia?

1. In such a way that the parties would incorporate members and voters on the whole territory of Yugoslavia: 31.1 percent
2. In such a way that the parties would be formed inside the republics: 39.3 percent
3. Don't know, undecided: 29.7 percent.

Table 4

We list a few parties that appear most frequently in parliaments in West European countries. For which of the listed parties would you cast your vote if these parties were organized in our country?

	all respondents	respondents who expressed an opinion
1. for communists	7.3 percent	9.6 percent
2. for social democrats, socialists	26.9	35.00
3. for christian democrats, people's party	18.7	25.00
4. for the liberal party	5.9	7.7
5. for the "greens"	14.2	19.00
6. others	3.2	
7. don't know, undecided	23.7	

Table 5

Are you a member of the LC?

1. Yes, I am: 7.8 percent
2. Yes, but I intend to leave shortly: 1.4
3. No, I am not, but I wish to become one: 1.8
4. No, I am not, I have left it: 7.8
5. No, I have never been: 81.3

Commentary in Army Paper on Political Scene

AU1312175888 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2578 8 Dec 88

[S. Sikavica commentary: "A Wave of Encouragement"]

[Text] We have marked the 70th anniversary of the creation of Yugoslavia. If we are not deceived, of course, it seems that we have only "carried it out." It is true that circumstances are not appropriate for any parades or celebrations, but there is no reason to shy away from marking the anniversary of "the act of union." We were also reminded of this by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, when he said in front of a television audience on the eve of Republic Day that without "1918" it would be difficult to imagine "1941."

Closely connected with this is the thought that Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, Chief of Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, expressed on the occasion of unveiling the monument to Field-Marshall [vojvoda] Misic in Mionica, that "Yugoslavia was created through the struggle of all its peoples."

From these "points of departure," the peoples of this region set out to conquer the wide expanses of freedom and democracy. How far they got is a particularly big question, just like the no less serious question of why and how we have slipped into the whirlpool of a general crisis.

In different times, we would also have marked the 45th anniversary of the republic more festively and richly. As it is, we remained on the level of enforced modesty. It is true that we do not have any reason for excessive optimism, but without the minimum of optimism we have no chance whatsoever of overcoming the difficulties. Tito taught us that much at least. In any case, what happened to the catchword of yesterday—faith in our own abilities? We also absolved this lesson before Josip Broz. Have we, instead of this lesson, easily drowned in lamenting over "evil destiny" and in the river of merciless criticism of everything that we are, criticism from which all the constructive and creative juices have been sapped, and through which our society is continually wandering in the darkness without exit. One sentence from Dizdarevic's pre-holiday address to Yugoslavia can be established to support this claim:".... I had the impression that in these relentless waves of criticism we have lost the ability to celebrate and to assess what we have achieved." Let us remind ourselves that President Dizdarevic included in the significant range of our anemic political practice, which is really only occasionally productive, the adoption of the constitutional amendments (including, indeed, the painstaking process until the final act of reaching agreement over the stands) and the resolute orientation of all social subjects toward economic reform.

Kosovo is a serious worry, but no one but us Yugoslavs can deal with it. However, the weed of nationalism is also springing up in some other of our communities. The evil lies not so much in this fact, but rather in the fact that certain republican-provincial political leaders are waving nationalist flags and thereby already complicating the mixed-up interethnic relations, about which the presidents of both the state presidency and the party presidium have warned us on several occasions in the last few months.

Despite all this, encouraging voices have recently been heard more and more on our political stage. These were heard, among other things, at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. The words which dominated among the myriad that were spoken in Belgrade Sava Center in those October days were Yugoslavia and Yugoslavism, brotherhood and unity. And also: Refusal to accept an insoluble situation. This encouraging wave was confirmed by the poll in the holiday issue of our newspaper: Prominent personalities from culture, politics, and sports do not invoke unitarism or separatism, but want to live and create in a self-managing socialist Yugoslavia, joined as brothers.

With all its might, the Yugoslav People's Army supports all the three designated current reforms in our country and therefore supports all those processes which lead to society's finding a way out of the mist of crisis and actively participates in them, which is something that was discussed at the recent session of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

In the dearth of good news from our current political scene, we consider even small moves toward improvement to be big steps. Together we can do a lot; divided we fall into an abyss. Unfortunately it seems that this awareness cannot penetrate some hard heads, or it is intentionally being persistently pushed from other positions into one's "own" and only one's "own" interests.

Can the LC successfully oppose this even before the announced deep-rooted reform in its own ranks? It can and must if it wants essentially to be what is written on its revolutionary flag: The vanguard of the workers class of Yugoslavia.

Slovene Assembly Group Views Military Document

AU1312190288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 88 p 3

[Unattributed report "What Is Military and What Is Not" on the statement made by Aleksandar Ravnikar, president of a group of Slovene Assembly delegates—place and date not given]

[Text] Apart from decrees of a completely military and, from the legal point of view, its indisputable nature, the military document—because of which four citizens were on trial at the Ljubljana Military Court—also included orders to the subordinated commands to make political and security assessments. However, the law only permits security assessments to be made, said Aleksandar Ravnikar, president of the group of Slovene Assembly delegates which is to study the circumstances and consequences of the "Ljubljana trial."

The group of delegates is of the opinion that these sections of the controversial military document are at variance with the federal law on all-people's defense. The document also orders the registration and analysis of certain events in society, outside military units and facilities. These activities (as can be concluded from the document) are meant to prevent units being taken by surprise as concerns security or being endangered in the combat sense. Regardless of this, the group of delegates is of the opinion that this self-protection activity exceeds the permitted activity of the Yugoslav People's Army and is therefore illegal. Because it is at variance with the principles of a legal state and the role of the Army in it, the document is contrary to the spirit of our constitution.

Ravnikar pointed out that the members of the group do not doubt the identity of the document.

As concerns the future activities of the group of delegates, Ravnikar said that the group will also assess the situation in Yugoslavia which has brought about this military document, the session of the Military Council and the report on the session, as well as the behavior of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Finally, the group of delegates will present the complete report to the Slovene Assembly, will prepare a political assessment, as well as touch upon the possible changes of regulations.

Montenegro LC Discusses Student Demands

LD1012233888 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 88

[All speakers not further identified]

[Text] A joint session in Titograd of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and the Veljko Vlahovic University LC Conference Presidium discussed the demands by students and employees of this institute of higher education addressed to the Montenegro LC Central Committee following the October meetings in Titograd and Niksic. We have just received a dispatch from Radio Titograd journalist Slavko Djurdjic.

[Djurdjic] The description of the October events as amounting to factional organization and behaviour of young people look ridiculous and sad, said Arse Djukanovic. Ridiculous because their authors lack even elementary knowledge of the political system in which the youth organization is neither a faction nor an appendage of the League of Communists, but a political subject with its own identity; and sad because in conditions of a most pronounced legitimacy of the youth organization, its position has been identified with that of a faction. We accept the conept of reforms, said Djukanovic in conclusion, but we are aware that their implementation cannot be guaranteed by those whose work so far has been proved to be incompetent.

(Daut) Sekaric spoke of the difficult socio-economic situation in which drastic social disintegration occurs; it resulted in protest rallies and many work stoppages. During many meetings the view is heard, Sekaric went on to say, that the people who plunged us into the crisis cannot take us out of it, and this is a matter which the leaderships at all levels would do well to reflect on seriously.

Spiro Mitrovic accepted part of the justified demands but he addressed a number of questions to the university conference. How much does the university provide directly to associated labor as far as scientific and technological development is concerned. To what extent has the university contributed to the rationalization of schools of higher education, and how many university experts appended their signature to the specifications of abortive investments.

Vidoje Zarkovic responded to the debate statement by Goran Vuletic, who asked for Zarkovic's accountability with regard to the fact that he had been signaled out by name during public meetings. Zarkovic believes that on many occasions, the reference to himself was unsupported by the power of argument and that one cannot ask for one's accountability to be based on that.

Milosav Dulovic faced the dilemma: How to crystallize the responsibility which obviously exists. For this reason he proposed that a special congress of the Montenegro LC be convened.

Ilija Despotovic spoke of the Montenegrin leadership's handicap with regard to the mass information media. He believes that in Montenegro the information media are to a great extent independent and he rejected the insinuation of any possibility that they may be leadership controlled.

Milinko Saranovic sees a brain-drain as one of the key problems of the country, while Bosko Djukic asked the president and the secretary of the Montenegrin Central Committee Presidium to explain the suggestion that the demands by the students and university workers had been sidetracked in the wake of the 17th session, saying in conclusion that he will not submit his resignation when labeled a thief and that he did not wish this country well.

The session continues.

Dizdarevic Completes GDR Visit 9 Dec

LD0912105688 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0947 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin, Dec. 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic today ends his three-day official visit to the German Democratic Republic and return to Belgrade this afternoon.

Dizdarevic and his host, East German State and party leader Erich Honecker will meet this morning for the final talks, after which a document will be signed on long-term economic and scientific-technological cooperation and the two countries' cooperation in the field of information.

'No Evidence' Bank Involved in U.S. Scandal

LD1312234388 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2132 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Ljubljana, December 13 (TANJUG)—LBS Bank of New York Inc., a wholly owned subsidiary of Ljubljanska Banka in Yugoslavia, and former chairman of its management board Vinko Mir did not violate U.S. laws and we expect all charges against them to be dropped, two experts of the Ljubljanska Banka said at a press conference here today.

Miro Kosak and Anton Macuha who were in New York to check the LBS operations, claim that the U.S. authorities have no evidence pointing to the involvement of Mir and LBS Bank in the Chicago affair which involved the laundering of 1.5 million U.S. dollars that were illegally acquired.

The Yugoslav consul general in Chicago, Bahrudin Bijedic, and three U.S. citizens, one of whom is of Yugoslav descent, have been accused of involvement in the affair. The Yugoslav consul also claims that there is no proof of his involvement in the financial scandal.

The U.S. authorities have accused LBS bank of receiving two cash deposits totalling 130,000 U.S. dollars on the account of its U.S. client in late March and early April this year, and then, on the basis of this, issuing two cheques of around 125,000 U.S. dollars, and filing false, i.e. incomplete reports of the transactions to the competent financial authorities.

Kosak and Macuha said the U.S. Public Prosecutor's Office has as evidence some 220 secretly recorded tapes, the smaller part of which are related to "the incriminating activities of the LBS". They stressed that the attorneys defending Mir and LBS would immediately review the tapes in order to detect any possible tampering and prepare for the trial which is expected in six or perhaps even twelve months' time.